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Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D.,
Principal of King's College, London.

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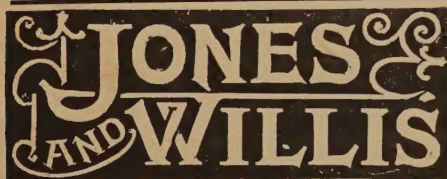
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ART. I.—THE INFLUENCE OF CELTIC ART IN
ENGLAND.

1. *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times.* By J. ROMILLY ALLEN. (London: Methuen. n.d.)
2. *Scotland in Early Christian Times.* By J. ANDERSON. First and Second series. (Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1881.)
3. *The Arts in Early England.* By G. BALDWIN BROWN. (London: John Murray. 1903.)
4. *St. Aldhelm.* By G. F. BROWNE, D.D., Bishop of Bristol. (London: S.P.C.K. 1903.)
5. *Early Irish Minuscule Script.* By W. M. LINDSAY. (Oxford: J. Parker and Co. 1910.)
6. *Early Christian Art in Ireland.* By MARGARET STOKES. (London: Chapman and Hall. 1887.)
7. *Six Months in the Apennines.* By MARGARET STOKES. (London: George Bell and Sons. 1892.)
8. *English Illuminated Manuscripts.* By Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B. (London: Kegan Paul and Co. 1895.)
9. *Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts.* By J. O. WESTWOOD. (London: Quaritch. 1868.)

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By Celtic art we mean in this article Christian Celtic art. There is a considerable survival of pre-Christian and pre-historic Celtic art exemplified in stone, bronze, iron, and

bone articles, such as urns, implements, ornaments, and so forth, to which we do not further refer, though such art is the precursor of the more finished Celtic art of later and Christian times.

In searching for traces of Celtic influence we mainly look for it in the following quarters: (a) in architectural remains of buildings; (b) in stone work, consisting of memorial crosses and other engraved or inscribed stones; (c) in MS. work, both as regards style of writing and style of illumination and ornamentation.

To these perhaps ought to be added 'metal work'; but specimens of Anglo-Saxon ornaments of metal are not numerous except in the case of the fibulae, etc., frequently found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and they were possibly manufactured on the Continent. A list of personal ornaments given by Mr. J. Romilly Allen only includes ten specimens of crosses, rings, etc.¹ Late Celtic metal work is likewise scarce. Mr. J. E. Lloyd speaks of the older Celtic art of metal engraving being extinct in the Romanized portion of Britain in the Third century, though still vigorous among the independent tribes of Caledonia and Hibernia.² The plait-work decoration occasionally found in the above ornaments, and the dragonesque ornamentation occasionally found on fibulae, are suggestive of Celtic art, and Mr. G. Baldwin Brown goes so far as to suggest that these rudimentary forms of Teutonic decoration, 'which are all that we can find on the portable objects of the migration period,' open the question whether they 'can have been the origin of the elaborate and varied motives common in the carving, metal work, and penmanship of the Christian Celtic art of the seventh and eighth centuries.'³ This is to make English Teutonic art the inspirer of Celtic art instead of *vice versa*. Professor Brown leans to this view without committing himself to it. We do not think that

¹ *Monumental History of the Early British Church* (London. 1889), p. 244.

² *History of Wales*, 2nd edit. (London. 1912), vol. i. p. 87.

³ *The Arts and Crafts of our Teutonic Fore fathers* (Edinburgh, 1910), p. 213. See also p. 206.

it is yet, or that it is likely to be, proved to be correct. Without, then, saying more about metal-work ornamentation, we pass on to other departments of art.

I

First as to the architecture of churches. So far as England is concerned there is not much evidence forthcoming, because very scanty architectural remains prior to A.D. 600 have survived, and therefore little is known about British or Romano-British architecture in Celtic times. The British historian Gildas speaks of the multitude of churches destroyed in Britain during the persecution under Diocletian at the beginning of the Fourth century, and also during the invasions of the heathen Saxons in the Sixth century.¹ Eddius, the biographer of St. Wilfrid, tells us how that saint reclaimed and re-used the sites of holy places which had been abandoned by the British clergy when they fled before the fury of the heathen Saxon invaders.²

Most, if not all, of these churches were built of wood. The buildings at Glastonbury, as they existed in the time of the British Church, before the Anglo-Saxon re-foundation of that monastery in the Seventh century, were, according to tradition, of wood.³

In the Northumbrian church, Finan, who succeeded Aidan as bishop of Lindisfarne in 651, built a church, fit for an episcopal see, not of stone, but altogether of sawn wood, covered with reeds, after the Scotie fashion.⁴ In Wales, when St. Kentigern founded his monastery of St. Asaph in the Sixth century, he built the church of dressed wood after the manner of the Britons, since they were not yet either accustomed or able to build with stone.⁵ St. Gwynllwy, at the close of the same century, is recorded to

¹ *Historia*, capp. vi., vii., xxiv.

² Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, xvii.

³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 1.

⁴ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. iii., cap. 25.

⁵ Pinkerton (J. S.), *Vita S. Kentigerni*, p. 248.

have built a cemetery chapel of wood.¹ It is supposed to be the church at Newport, Monmouthshire, situated in the hundred of Gwentloog, and dedicated to him under the name of St. Woolos. The church described in the extraordinary Celtic-Latin poem known as *Hisperica famina* was built of wood, though in this case it is uncertain whether the writer is describing a church in Ireland, or Brittany, or Cornwall.²

Now wooden structures would easily be destroyed by fire or by other means, and would naturally not last like churches built of stone or other hard material. There is only one ancient wooden church in existence in England to-day, viz. at Greenstead in Essex. It is needless to say that it does not claim to reach back to Celtic times, though it is said to be as old as the Eleventh century.³

But some Romano-British churches were certainly of stone, as may be proved by remains existing at Reculver, and in the case of St. Martin's church and St. Pancras' church, both at Canterbury, and by remains in a few other places. At Reculver the foundations of a Roman basilica have been faintly traced, but whether that basilica was used for secular or ecclesiastical purposes has not been, and is not likely ever to be, ascertained.⁴ The church of St. Pancras at Canterbury had been assigned, according to tradition, by King Ethelbert for pagan worship, and was afterwards given back by him to the members of St. Augustine's mission for Christian worship.⁵ More distinct traces of the foundation of a Roman basilica have been found underneath the present churches of Lyminge in Kent, and Brixworth in Northamptonshire.⁶ But so far as existing buildings go at the above-named places, their only claim to be Romano-British lies

¹ Rees (W. J.), *Vita S. Gundleii*, p. 148.

² Edit. Stowasser (J. W.), p. 14; edit. F. J. H. Jenkinson, p. 19.

³ Mr. G. G. Scott mentions two wooden churches in Hampshire of a considerably later date.

⁴ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., vol. i. p. 38.

⁵ Bishop of Bristol (Browne, G. F.), *The Christian Church in these Islands before the Coming of Augustine* (London. 1894), p. 26.

⁶ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., vol. i. p. 38.

in the fact that they have a few stones or bricks of Romano-British date used up a second time in their construction.

The most distinct traces and remains of a Romano-British Christian basilica which have yet been discovered are at Silchester, and our knowledge of them is due to the excavations which have been carried on there, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, in recent years.

As some doubt has been thrown upon the character of this building, it may be noted that it is in favour of the existence of a Christian church at Silchester that a bronze ring has been found there with what may be a Chi-Rho monogram on its bezel,¹ and a fragment of white glass with a fish and a palm roughly scratched upon it.² We must put our readers on guard against a statement made long ago in 'Archaeologia' (vol. viii. p. 449), which in consequence obtained somewhat wide currency, that a gold ring was found at Silchester with the supposed Christian inscription 'Seneciane, vivas in Deo.' This ring was found, not at Silchester, but at the Vyne, a house standing in the parish of Sherborne St. John in Hampshire, four miles from Silchester³; and the inscription was misread at first. It runs, not 'Seneciane, vivas in Deo,' but 'Seneciane, vivas II nde' (= secunde); that is, 'O Senecianus, mayest thou live prosperously.' It is a pagan ring bearing the head of Venus, and this additional interest attaches to it, that a lead tablet has since been discovered at Lydney, in Gloucestershire, seventy miles from the Vyne, with an inscription engraved upon it announcing the loss, and asking for the return, of a gold ring with the name of Senecianus connected with and apparently upon it; evidently a notice issued by a Roman of distinction, named Silvianus, probably an officer who had lost, and who asks for the discovery and return, of this identical ring; and some fifteen hundred years after the notice was issued the ring has been found!

There is a close similarity between the ground plan of the church at Silchester and the ground plans of Fourth, Fifth

¹ *Archaeologia*, vol. lv. p. 429.

² *Archaeological Journal*, June 1902, p. 202.

³ Chute (C. W.), *The Vyne* (London, 1888), pp. 7-9.

and Sixth-century churches in central Syria, as shewn by L.J.M. de Vogüé in his magnificent volumes on architecture, civil and religious, from the First to the Seventh century,¹ and the ground plan of early African and Roman basilicas, as, for example, that of the Fourth-century church of SS. Nereus, Achilleus, and Petronilla in the cemetery of Domitilla in the catacombs.²

The Silchester church has been provisionally assigned to a date 350-400 A.D. It is of the basilican type, with its principal front, that is to say, the altar end, to the west and not to the east, and its plan shews that it consisted of nave and chancel, ten feet wide and twenty-nine feet long, with an apse at the west end, narrow aisles only five feet wide, rudimentary transepts about seven feet square, and an eastern narthex about seven feet deep extending across the whole width of the building. The total length externally is only forty-two feet. The central part alone retains its pavement of coarse red-tile tesserae with, just in front of the apse, in the centre of the chancel, a panel five feet square of finer mosaic, of ordinary geometrical pattern, on which doubtless stood the wooden altar or holy table. It is inferred that it was wooden, because a stone altar must have left traces of fixing or wear on the tiles. A fragment of coarse red tessellation also remains at the north end of the narthex. About eleven feet east of the building, in the court or atrium, is the base of a tile platform, four feet square, on which, doubtless, stood a fountain, and a small pit in front of this seems to have been made to carry off the water. Close to the opposite or western end of the church is a large well, carefully lined with wood, but no remains of a baptistery have been discovered.

There also exist remains of small Celtic churches or oratories in Cornwall. The best known of these is probably the oratory of St. Piran at Perranzabuloe, on the north-west coast of that county. It is only thirty feet in length and

¹ Vol. i. plate 19 ; vol. ii. plates 116, 118, 122, 130.

² Figured in Marucchi (H.), *Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, (Paris. 1900), p. 106, and in Lowrie (W.), *Christian Art and Archaeology* (London and New York. 1901), p. 24.

12 feet in breadth in the nave, thirteen feet being the width of the chancel. The oratory of St. Michael at Penkevel is of similar dimensions. Other Celtic oratories in Cornwall are those of St. Gwithian at St. Gwithian, forty-eight feet by fourteen; Madron Chapel, twenty-five feet by sixteen; St. Helen's Chapel at St. Just, thirty-two feet by twelve. They are all rectangular in shape shewing no trace architecturally of having had a structural chancel, apse, or narthex, though the chancel at St. Piran's is one foot wider than the nave. In the first two oratories named stone altars have survived; but there is so little else beyond the foundations of the walls left that, though there are traces of doors, we can glean no information about the architecture of their windows or roofs.¹ They probably resembled other small primitive oratories scattered through Ireland and Scotland, which we will not here describe further, because the ancient Cornish oratories do not seem in any way to have affected the structure of churches in England in Anglo-Saxon or later days. The case is different with the Romano-British basilica, which certainly moulded the shape of a few Anglo-Saxon churches in the earlier part of the Seventh century.

We cannot find any warrant for the following statement made by the late Dean Stanley, who was a picturesque rather than always an accurate writer. He says:

'Lastly, then as now, the chief entrance into the cathedral [*i.e.* of Canterbury] was through the south door, which is a practice derived, not from the Roman, but from the British times, and therefore from the ruined British church which Augustine first received from Ethelbert. It is so still in the remains of the old British churches which are preserved in Cornwall and Scotland.'²

This statement seems to be incorrect. Ancient Celtic oratories, which survive in great numbers in Ireland and

¹ For further information about these Cornish oratories see *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, vol. ii. p. 95; *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, vol. xvi. p. 133.

² *Memorials of Canterbury* (1883), p. 41.

Scotland, and in fewer numbers in Cornwall, almost invariably had a western door. Only five instances of a south door are known to the present writer in the whole of Ireland, and only two instances in Scotland, *viz.* in the primitive oratory in the island of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth, and in the older of the two ruined churches at Kirkapoll in the island of Tiree.¹ Two instances are known in Cornwall—in the oratories of St. Piran and St. Gwithian. The doors of Madron Chapel and of St. Helen's Chapel² are both on the north side, and a few instances of north doors have been found in Scotland and Ireland.

But there are, or were, seven Anglo-Saxon churches of the earliest dates which reproduced or inherited the structural arrangement of a Romano-British basilica, namely :

Name.	Place.	County.	Earliest Mention.
1. St. Martin	Canterbury	Kent	Bede, <i>H. E.</i> i. 26
2. St. Pancras	"	"	W. Thorne, <i>Chronica</i> § 5, col. 1260
3. Christ Church	"	"	Bede, <i>H. E.</i> i. 33
4. St. Mary	Lyminge	"	<i>ib.</i> i. 33
5. St. Andrew	Rochester	"	<i>ib.</i> iii. 14
6. St. Peter-on-the-wall	Ythancaestir	Essex	<i>ib.</i> iii. 22
7. Old Minster	South Elmham	Suffolk	Florence of Worcester, sub an. 1038

An Elmham was created a separate see from Dunwich in 670 or 673, but this was probably North Elmham, in Norfolk, and not South Elmham, in Suffolk.

There were differences of architectural detail in all these churches, and there are many points of uncertainty which are not likely ever to be settled, as only small portions, sometimes little more than the foundation outlines of the original churches, now remain.

¹ Anderson (J.), *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st series, p. 94.

² Blight (J. T.), *Ancient Crosses in the West of Cornwall* (London. 1856), pp. 59, 61.

Their important characteristics were :

(1) A group of three arches at the east end of the nave. This feature existed also at Reculver in Kent, founded by Bassa the priest in 669, and at Brixworth in Northamptonshire, founded by monks from Medehamstead (Peterborough) in 685.

(2) A short and broad nave, with west, south, and north porticos or chambers opening from it.

(3) The chancel is always apsidal. Apsidal terminations, semicircular or semi-elliptical, are also found in four more Saxon churches, *viz.* Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire ; Worth, in Sussex ; Brixworth, in Northamptonshire ; and the isle of Lindisfarne. These churches were mostly built on Roman sites, and the churches now existing are partly composed of re-used Roman material.

It is hoped that the sites and plans may yet be discovered of the church of SS. Peter and Paul (afterwards St. Augustine's monastery) founded by King Ethelbert close to Canterbury,¹ and of the church of St. Mary, built by his son, King Eadwald, to the east of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, and dedicated by Archbishop Mellitus in 619.²

Celtic influence has also been held to have left its trace on Saxon architecture in two particulars : first, in the rectangular chancels which were universal in Anglo-Saxon churches except in the few early cases previously mentioned, where the apse of the Roman basilica was introduced, or rather retained. Professor Brown is inclined to be sceptical about the origin or cause of rectangular chancels. He says :—

'It is probable that the English backwardness in arch and vault construction has had as much to do with our national predilection for square-ended chancels as the Celtic tradition which is often invoked to explain this insular peculiarity.'³

¹ Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 5.

² An exhaustive paper on these churches by C. R. Peers, is printed in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. lviii. No. 232 (Dec. 1901), pp. 402-434.

³ *The Arts in Early England*, vol. ii. p. 280.

Secondly, as Professor Brown states it :—

‘Celtic tradition, if not solely responsible for the normal nave and chancel plan, makes itself apparent in the curious feature of sloping jambs to doors and window openings. The phenomenon is by no means universal, but it appears from time to time in the whole course of Saxon architectural history.’¹

Instances are found at Escomb, Durham ; Boarhunt, Hampshire ; West Hampnet, Sussex ; Brigstock, Northamptonshire, and in other places.

II

We pass on to the consideration of Celtic art and style of ornamentation as exhibited in stone and MS. work executed in England in pre-Norman times.

The chief peculiar characteristics of Celtic work generally are fivefold.

(1) Interlaced work or knot-work, in many shapes and designs, especially with lacertine, dragonesque, and other zoomorphic convolutions and terminations. Plain or non-zoomorphic interlaced work is not peculiar to Celtic art. It has been found in early Eastern work, especially among the Nestorian Christians, and in many Western countries, including Italy, Dalmatia, Greece and France. The interlaced work on the door of the church of S. Clemente at Rome (c. 650) may be mentioned as an example.² The speciality of Celtic interlaced work lies (a) in the complicated nature of the patterns, (b) in the extraordinary fertility of invention exhibited by the designers in producing new variations, and (c) in the extreme accuracy with which the carving or drawing is executed.

¹ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 296.

² Figured in Stokes (Margaret), *Six Months in the Apennines* (London. 1892), p. 6. See also the alternating panels of angulated and interlaced work in the tessellated pavement of a Roman villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire (G. E. Fox Collection, Large Case, No. 1, card 16, at Burlington House), and at Llantwit Major, Glamorgan-shire (*ibid.* No. 2, card 56).

(2) Angulated work, sometimes called the key-pattern, because of the resemblance produced to the slits cut in a key, to allow it to pass and to fit the wards of a lock, exhibiting many varieties of the Greek fret or gammadion, and sometimes taking a step-like, Z-like Chinese form or pattern.

(3) Various spiral patterns, which are perhaps the most characteristic feature of all, including especially the divergent spiral or trumpet pattern.

(4) The triquetra knot or three-spoked wheel pattern.

(5) The almost complete absence of any foliaceous ornamentation, by which is meant leaves or leaves mingled with fruit and flowers.

Ornamental work of the Celtic type is found on stone crosses, memorial stones, grave covers, and other carved stone work executed, apparently, by Anglo-Saxon artists, and certainly in Anglo-Saxon days, from the north of England to the south.

Interlaced work is seen on a grave cover found in the Chapter House at Durham in 1891; on panels on the north side of the famous Bewcastle cross, erected A.D. 670; on another cross preserved in the Chapter House at Durham, where special attention may be drawn to the triquetra knot on the right and left panels below the extended arms of the crucified figure.

Spiral work, including the trumpet pattern, is seen on large stone lintels at Crathorne, Yorkshire; on a stone fragment, perhaps a portion of a cross, at Jarrow in Durham.

Various examples of the key pattern, or diagonal fretwork, are to be seen on a carved block of stone at Crathorne, Yorkshire, which has a spiral coil in the centre, and perpendicular fretwork on the left-hand side; on stone fragments preserved at Northallerton, Yorkshire; on the panels of the stem of a tall cross at Stainton-le-Street, co. Durham, now removed to Durham; and very clearly and markedly on a stone fragment found at Hurworth-on-Tees, co. Durham, now likewise removed to Durham.

But stone work, exhibiting traces of Celtic influence, is found in mid-England and south England, corresponding to the ancient Mercia and Wessex, as well as in the north

of England. There is a beautiful Hiberno-Saxon cross at Eyam in Derbyshire, with very evenly executed divergent spiral work on the broad sides of its shafts, and closely packed interlaced work on its edges.¹ Another cross is to be seen at Bakewell in Derbyshire, of somewhat later workmanship than the Eyam cross, with spiral patterns on its stem, and interlaced work on the sides and ends of its cross-arms.² There is a stump or stem of a cross at Leek, in Staffordshire, with interlaced work on its sides.³

Pass on to the south and south-west of England. At Bexhill, in Sussex, an ancient coped stone has been found which must have been the covering of a grave or the top of a stone coffin, and which is covered with elaborate interlaced zoomorphic ornamentation.⁴

Elaborate interlaced work of a similar kind is found on the shaft of a cross at Rowberrow in Somerset⁵; on two sides of the shaft of a cross at West Camel in the same county⁶; on two parts of the great shaft of a cross at Dolton, in north Devon, where the upper portion has been inverted, hollowed out, and made to serve as a font.⁷ Similar stones, again, have been found at Frome,⁸ Bradford-on-Avon,⁹ Bath,¹⁰ Colerne,¹⁰ and Littleton Drew,¹¹ all places either in Somersetshire or Wiltshire, which these stones mark (so Dr. Browne thinks) as the resting-places of St. Aldhelm's body, when it was conveyed for a distance of fifty miles from Doultong in Somerset, where he died, to Malmesbury in Wilts, where he was buried.

If it were not that it would unduly prolong this article, we might go on to describe in detail stones of similar Saxon workmanship at Ramsbury in Wiltshire, at Gloucester and Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, at Britford in Wiltshire, at Costock in Leicestershire, at Hawkchurch in Dorsetshire,

¹ Pictured in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th series, vol. i. p. 32.

² *Ibid.* p. 35.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Figured in the Bishop of Bristol's *St. Aldhelm* (London. 1903), p. 158.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 159.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 160.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 180.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 170, 178.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 172.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 173.

at Shelton and Bridgeford in Staffordshire, at Hickling in Nottinghamshire, and in many other places. It has been calculated that there are 457 such stones in England in 197 different places.¹

How are we to account for this phenomenon? It seems to be in this way. We generally and rightly connect the origin of the English Church with the Italian mission under St. Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury; but we are apt to forget that the success of that mission was at first almost entirely confined to the county of Kent, and that the greater part of England received its first Christianity from a Celtic and not from an Italian quarter, from Iona and not from Rome. The see of Lindisfarne was founded by King Oswald in 635, and its first three bishops, Aidan, Finan, and Colman, all came from Celtic Scotland. Diuma, the first bishop of Mercia, was a Scot; so was Cellach, the second bishop; Trumhere, the third bishop, although an Angle, had been taught and trained by the Scots. Agilbert, the successor of Birinus, the first bishop of the West Saxons, though himself a Gaul, came to Wessex after a long residence in Ireland. Where in England did not Celtic missionaries go? The Irish saint Fursey, of royal lineage, came to East Anglia *c.* 630 in the reign of King Sigebert, and settled in the remains of the great Roman fortress of Cnobbersburgh, now called Burgh Castle, near Lowestoft. After spending some years there, leaving his Irish companions, Foillan, Gobban, Dicul, and Ultan, behind, he crossed to Gaul in 644, where he was received by Clovis II, King of Neustria, and founded the monastery of Latiniacum (Lagny) on the Marne, near Paris. He does not seem to have left a permanent mark upon the Christianity of East Anglia, where there are no dedications to him. There is a modern but an unsupported guess that St. Felix

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxi. p. 32, where the calculation is said to have been made by Mr. Romilly Allen and the Bishop of Bristol. Of the nine places mentioned in this paragraph, the sculptured stones in the first five are described by Dr. Browne, *ut supra*, and the last four in a paper by J. C. C. in the *Athenaeum* of July 30, 1904, p. 151.

may have been an Irishman, who, belonging to one of the Irish colonies in Burgundy, came to East Anglia in 631, where he died as first bishop of Dunwich in 647. Dicul, an Irish monk, penetrated into Sussex, and founded a small monastery at Bosham, near Chichester, among the South Saxons. Meildulf, another Irish monk, went into Wessex, and founded a monastery at Malmesbury, where the more famous St. Aldhelm was first a monk under him, and afterwards abbot. These numerous missionaries from Scotland and Ireland, penetrating into nearly all parts of England, often holding bishoprics or founding monasteries, brought their Celtic art with them, and taught the Celtic patterns to the Anglo-Saxon artificers and draughtsmen.

It should be added that Cornish and Manx crosses have different characteristics. The remote position of Cornwall and the Isle of Man, though there had been a still earlier Irish connexion in both cases, prevented their inhabitants from coming under the influence, architectural and artistic, of the Irish missionaries of the Seventh century.

III

The main features of the Celtic art of ornamentation as exhibited in stone work are also the main features of the same art as exhibited in the illumination of MSS. and need not be recapitulated here; only in MSS. these designs are worked out with much greater elaborateness and minuteness by the pen or stilus of the illuminator or writer than it was possible to achieve with the tool of the engraver.

This statement is well exemplified by the Book of Kells, a Seventh or Eighth century MS. of the Gospels, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Take the opening page of St. Matthew's Gospel. It is the most elaborate, minute, and intricate page of ornamental work which has ever been produced by any artist, in any land, ancient or modern.

Miss Margaret Stokes said of it :

‘As with the skeleton of a leaf, or with any microscopic work of nature, the stronger the magnifying power brought to bear upon it, the more is their perfection revealed.’¹

Professor Westwood said :

‘I have examined with a magnifying glass the pages of the Book of Kells for hours together without ever detecting a false step, or an irregular interlacement ; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and that they are so minute as to be impossible to have been executed with a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments they could have been executed.’²

In the case of MSS. as distinct from stone work, the following additional, or for the most part additional, peculiarities or characteristics must be mentioned :

(a) The use of gigantic initial letters, occupying sometimes the full length of the page, and generally with zoomorphic terminations.

(b) The use of dots or points to surround, by way of ornament, the outlines of initial letters and borders, and to fill up the spaces between or within letters, and to decorate the bodies or dresses of figures depicted. These dots are generally red, and are arranged in single or double rows, or in triangular triplets, and occasionally in other shapes. Triplets of white points adorn the dress of the Evangelists in the Gospels of MacDurnan,³ and triplets of light blue points may be seen on a page of the St. Gall Gospels.⁴

(c) The absence of foliage and fruit. There is an almost universal absence of them from the oldest Celtic MSS. Some very conventional plants, however, issue out of a vase in one of the illuminated pages in the Book of Kells,⁵ and some foliage is introduced on another page, to fill up blank

¹ *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (London. 1887), p. 16.

² Quoted by J. Anderson in *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (1881), p. 152.

³ Westwood (J. O.), *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*, plate 1.

⁴ Westwood (J. O.), *Facsimiles*, plate 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* plate 11.

spaces. The vine and the trefoil are the only plants which can be identified. The presence of even this limited amount of foliaceous decoration inclines us to assign a later rather than an earlier date to this MS.: that is to say, the Eighth century, or even the Ninth century, rather than the Seventh.

(d) The employment of certain forms of punctuation, abbreviation, contraction, and marginal notation. It would involve too much technical detail to describe all these minutely.¹ We will content ourselves with mentioning one feature—the employment of a double horizontal mark of contraction over the sacred names, the upper mark being black and the lower one red, or *vice versa*. This is, so far as our knowledge goes, a peculiarity of Celtic MSS. It is to be seen in the Book of Durrow; in the Gospel book at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 197; in the MS. of Adamnan's 'Life of Columba' at Schaffhausen, and in the Martyrology of Echternach, now at Paris, which, while written in an Anglo-Saxon monastery, must have been written under Irish influence, though the name of the scribe, 'Laurentius,' is certainly not Irish. Perhaps it is an assumed name.

(e) There are two early styles of Irish handwriting, the larger one known as semi-uncial, the smaller one known as pointed-minuscule. Both these styles were adopted or imitated in English monasteries. A large number of MSS. written in England, mostly but not exclusively in the north of England, closely resemble Irish MSS. in style of letter, of illumination, and of ornamentation, so that it is difficult, without other evidence, to decide whether they were written in England, or in Ireland, or in Scotland. There was a distinct and unmistakable Anglo-Saxon style of drawing, and to a lesser extent of writing, developed later on; but traces of Celtic influence may be found in English MSS. of the Eighth and Ninth centuries, and sometimes, though in a diminishing quantity, later still.

¹ See Professor W. M. Lindsay's work on *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Oxford, 1910).

Many less-known MSS. might be selected to illustrate this statement, *e.g.* C.C.C.C. MS. 197, the most Irish-looking MS. which it would be possible to handle, one which it is difficult to believe was written in England: or the 'Book of Nunnaminster,' an Anglo-Saxon book of prayers, probably written at Winchester in the Eighth century, now among the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum, Number 2965, edited by Mr. W. de Gray Birch for the Hampshire Record Society in 1889. But, passing by these and other MSS. which might be mentioned, it is natural to illustrate the effect of Irish art on English MSS. by aid of the most beautiful and most famous of all extant early MSS. executed in England, which is best known by the name of 'The Gospels of Lindisfarne,' but it is sometimes called 'The Gospels of St. Cuthbert,' sometimes 'The Durham Book.' It is now Cotton MS. Nero D. iv. in the British Museum. It was written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 698-721, in honour of St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, who had died in 687. It was covered and made firm—that is to say, it was bound—by Aethelwold, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Billfrith, an anchorite, wrought the metal-work cover, which has long since disappeared. The interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss was added by Aldred, an Anglo-Saxon priest, in the middle of the Tenth century. It is in the old Northumbrian dialect, and is noticeable as being the earliest extant version of the Gospels in English.

The following Celtic characteristics are noticeable on the page that contains the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel:

1. The gigantic initial Q, occupying the full length of the page.

2. The exhibition of six features of Celtic ornamentation, *viz.*:

(a) Interlaced work of more than one variety: in the broad borders of the loop of the Q, and in the lower square panel in the stem of the Q.

(b) Angular fretwork in the upper square panel in the stem of the Q.

(c) Spiral and divergent spiral work in the central space of the loop of the Q.

(d) A large quantity of the ornamentation of this page is zoomorphic. It consists of wonderfully convoluted and attenuated creatures with heads of birds or beasts. The right-hand border is one elongated monster, the head and forefeet of which are to be seen below the bottom line of the writing, and the tail of which terminates the top border, with almost human hind legs and feet, the thin tail being curled up between them.

(e) Red points or dots bound the capital letters, and fill up their interstices with various dotted designs forming broad bands, the highest being the broadest and the two lowest being the narrowest, within which capital letters are contained.

(f) The absence of foliage from this page and from the other ornamental pages of this MS.

3. The Irish semi-uncial type of letters employed is illustrated by the words at the top of the page: 'lucas uitulus 7 incipit euangelium secundum lucam. . . .'

4. The presence of the Chi-Rho monogram on the top left-hand margin. It also occurs on the top margin at the commencement of St. Matthew's Gospel. This is a peculiarity, though perhaps not an exclusively Celtic peculiarity, yet the only other MSS. in which, so far as our knowledge goes, it occurs, such as Royal MS. 2 A. xx, are MSS. which do or may exhibit traces of Celtic influence.

Many other pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels deserve equally full description and consideration, but they cannot be described here. They need a monograph to themselves.

Another remarkable, though less celebrated, MS. of this class may be referred to. It is the 'Codex Ecclesiae Dunelmensis' at Durham. We can only briefly refer to one page, somewhat faded, being the opening page of St. John's Gospel. The gigantic initial letters, with the interlaced zoomorphic patterns, which fill up their stems and limbs, very closely resemble those in the opening page of St. John's Gospel in a Celtic MS. previously referred to—C.C.C.C. MS. 197. The lower semicircular tag to the loop of the P in both MSS. almost makes the P look like a B, as if the scribe

had written 'In Brincipio,' though he has not done so. This page, and another page with a grotesque representation of the Crucifixion, deserve to be reproduced by the New Palaeographical Society, which has already given a page of the text on Plate 30.

The Celtic style of ornamentation of the MSS. penetrated in a less marked manner to the South of England. No South English MS. is so Celtic in all its details as the Book of Lindisfarne, or the Durham MS. of the Gospels, just described. For example, there is an Eighth-century Psalter in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, bearing the press mark 'Vespasian A.1.' It belonged to the abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury, and was no doubt written and ornamented in that monastery, being probably a copy of a Psalter brought to England by St. Augustine himself, or by one of his followers. The Celtic element of decoration in the MS. makes it impossible that this is the original MS. written in Rome itself, though the Roman uncial letters and Roman rustic capitals are copied from an original Roman MS.

There is a full-page picture of David playing on a lyre, seated on a throne with two scribes, one on either side of him, one holding a scroll and a stilus, and the other a set of tablets and a stilus. In the foreground are two boys dancing, between two trumpeters and two hornblowers. The design is of Roman origin, copied by an Anglo-Saxon scribe, but the arch supported on columns surrounding the figures is richly ornamented with spiral and interlaced patterns, with three lozenges introduced into either column, and three circular ornaments, resembling rosettes, introduced into the arch. The general effect is so preponderatingly Celtic that it cannot have been executed at Rome, or copied from a Roman archetype, but must be due to Irish influence at work at Canterbury.¹

This influence may have been introduced into Southern England directly by Irish monks at Glastonbury and

¹ Much of this description of MS. Vesp. A.1. is taken from *English Illuminated MSS.* by Sir E. Maunde Thompson (London. 1895), pp. 10, 11.

elsewhere ; and it may have filtered through Northumbria, and especially through Lindisfarne, between which place and Glastonbury connexion is known to have existed. William of Malmesbury tells us that the Northumbrian abbot Tica migrated to Glastonbury in 754, for fear of the Danes, and carried with him the relics of St. Aidan and many other Northern saints.¹

Traces of it grew fainter as time went on. Anglo-Saxon art gradually introduced a style and beauty of its own. Yet even as late as the latter part of the Twelfth century, in a gigantic initial P in a MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, at Durham, written c. 1180, with its graceful interlacing zoomorphic ornamentation, we may still see lingering a faint trace of Celtic craft and influence.

Further details might be given, but sufficient evidence has, it is hoped, been produced to prove the great and widespread influence which Celtic art brought to bear upon the style of sculpture, and still more the style of MS. ornamentation in England from the end of the Seventh century onwards.

This article has been written in support of a certain theory. It is only fair, in conclusion, to state that other theories are current as to the sources from which the characteristics of Celtic art found in MSS. and on stones in England, especially in the South of England, have been borrowed or copied. The only one we need mention here is the Roman theory, which looks to Italy rather than to Ireland as the source of inspiration. The interlaced work, plaitwork, knotwork, and other patterns found in early churches at Rome and Ravenna, and on the pavements of Roman villas, at least establish the possibility of such a theory, although we do not believe it to be the true one.²

F. E. WARREN.

¹ *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, edit. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. clxxix. col. 1093.

² See Allen (J. R.), *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*, pp. 244, 246, 258 etc.

ART. II.—THE NEO-CHRISTIANITY OF
RUDOLF EUCKEN.

1. *Können wir noch Christen sein?* Von R. EUCKEN. (Leipzig: Veit u. Comp. 1911.)
2. *The Truth of Religion.* By R. EUCKEN. Translated by W. TUDOR JONES, Ph.D. (Jena). (London: Williams and Norgate. 1911.)
3. *The Life of the Spirit.* By R. EUCKEN. Translated by F. L. POGSON, M.A. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1909.)
4. *R. Eucken's Bedeutung für das moderne Christentum.* Von Dr. KURT KESSLER. (Bunzlau: G. Kreuschmer. 1912.)

And other works.

MANY people in this country, and among them many theologians, have some acquaintance with the speculations of that fascinating French thinker, Henri Bergson, his views as to Time and Duration, Intelligence and Instinct, and that *élan originel de la vie* which exerts a psychic activity upon brute matter. But there is another thinker, whose doctrines come to us in the more sober-suited guise of German philosophy, Rudolf Eucken of Jena, who is far less known among English Christians than he deserves to be and hereafter will be, although it is now several years since the present Dean of St. Paul's first commended him at a Church Congress. He is a metaphysician, but there can be no doubt that the central interest of his system is the religious problem, and all his work is inspired by a deeply religious spirit.

In the present article we shall not attempt to interpret his philosophical system or to trace its lineal succession through the systems of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. We are only concerned with some of its bearings on the Christian faith, and particularly, on the faith of an English Churchman, with which Eucken appears to have no personal

acquaintance. And it will be convenient, in thus limiting our scope, to deal principally with the conclusions set forth in his last treatise, the most definitely religious of his works, entitled *Können wir noch Christen sein?* In his larger work, published some years ago, on 'The Truth of Religion,' he considered the possibility of a reconstruction of Christianity, in view of the crisis in belief which the growing complexity of life has created. To Eucken's thinking, the spiritual outlook is critical. It is not so much a question of intellectual assent to a traditional body of doctrine as of the emancipation of life itself from the 'delimitations and contradictions of the present situation.'¹ The new wine cannot be put into the old bottles; and the very consciousness of this confinement is evidence that it can be broken through. 'Hegel is right; to feel the barrier is as good as to surmount it.' The modern spirit refuses to be 'cribbed, cabined and confined,' whether by mediaeval formulas or by the institutions and facts of the past (he would call such an attitude of mind 'historism'²) or by a soul-less external culture, or by the organization, industrial and mechanical, of present-day labour and life (that is mere mechanism). Eucken does not wish to come before us as the scholar or the scientific recluse stricken with

' this strange disease of modern life
With its sick hurry, its divided aims,
Its heads o'ertaxed, its palsied hearts.'

He is sensitive to the world-movement of to-day, over its whole surface. 'The intellectual conflict,' he says somewhere, 'is an affair of outposts; the real conflict is between ways of living.' His concern for the future of Religion proceeds from a survey of the whole field. 'The foundations of our life and being are out of course. We drift helplessly we know not whither.' He refers to three influences in particular: natural science, the social movement, and the aesthetic or 'Epicurean' movement, which makes life into

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* pp. 91, 92.

² *Truth of Religion*, pp. 567, 568.

a mere play on the surface.¹ In so far as democracy stands for a great principle, the pursuit of the highest good of all by all, the fulfilment of a collective life, the life of the whole determining all individual lives, he accepts democracy. But he sees its dangers no less clearly than Plato himself. How easily we may 'sink to be mere puppets of the soulless mechanism of the State, if we do not find the power to maintain the life of the soul against all attempts at encroachment.'² The true life of the spirit is only to be attained in the unfolding of a new life, the opening out of a new world in the inner depths of the soul, not in any extension of the activities of the soul in the given world of sense. This is the 'autonomous interiority' of the soul, which is no longer dominated by Nature. It finds expression in 'characteristic influences of the spiritual life, great and original experiences and self-revelations which do not take their rise in the merely human (*aus dem blossen Menschen*), but rather raise humanity to a higher value and discover in it (if they do not indeed create) new movements and contents.'³ Now the tendency of an unspiritualized democracy is to absorb man in activities which are on the periphery of life, mere 'appended' activities, which do not reach to the central soul. And so there is no spiritual communion among the workers in the vast laboratory of such a democracy; 'they are, properly speaking, not beings in action but mere puppets of destiny.' All such activity lacks the spiritual character which only comes, as we shall see, when the 'new step' of life is taken, and the 'new birth' attained.

A second danger in the modern democracy is that of the 'boundless egoism' of the individual, whom the progress of civilization has emancipated from those incorporating restrictions, of family, tribe, cult, class, of which human personality has gradually divested itself.⁴ And therefore a new movement is urgently needed to break down the wall of egoism which the individual has erected about himself, and to bring him into spiritual communion

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* pp. 223-225.

² Cf. W. R. Inge, *The Church and the Age*, pp. ix, x.

³ Eucken, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 99.

with other workers in society. Our vast industrial organization does not help ; for ' however closely it may weld men together externally, it abandons their souls to utter isolation.'¹ It may turn out some common product of material co-operation on a large scale, *e.g.* a complicated engine ; but mutual love and friendly interest and sympathy are not so easily manufactured. After a reference to the modern strike, Eucken asks whether, in spite of our technical triumphs, the story of the Tower of Babel is not being enacted anew in our midst ?

Modern civilization tends to level individual characteristics or to stereotype the average character. For the deepest demand of humanity it has but one solution : the hope that reason resides in numbers, a hope which past experience falsifies. You will never arrive at greatness by adding up littlenesses, any more than you will make a giant oak out of a collection of dwarf oaks ; nor bring goodness and truth out of individual aims until those aims are dominated by some one great idea. The extension of culture to the masses must inevitably lower the level of life, unless the diffusion of property and power is attended by an energetic increase of man's spiritual possessions. Man is like to become his own worst enemy ; and in the dearth of great personalities the world begins to yearn for some weird ' Super-man,' and this in itself is a confession of failure.

It is necessary to grasp Eucken's conviction of the growing failure of the present social and moral civilization (if we may so paraphrase his '*Daseinskultur*'), and the breakdown of those time-honoured institutions and organizations, in Church and State, which might have been expected to save the situation, before we can understand his message to his age. Enough has been said already to indicate in what a noble and deeply prophetic spirit he handles his theme. He is determined at all costs to vindicate the position of the spiritual in the life-process, and in this all Christian thinkers must join hands with him. Furthermore, he feels that he cannot rest within the frontier-line of philosophy ; he pushes forward into the sphere of religion.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 72 sq.

His reasons may be given in his own words. 'A merely pietistic view of life has become too narrow for us; but on the other hand, the superficiality of a culture devoid of religion becomes more and more evident.'¹ Like Plato, who may be called his prototype in antiquity, he is intensely conscious of the contradictions and hindrances of the sensible world, the world of phenomena; the salvation of the true self is only found in that mastery of the world (*Weltüberlegenheit*), which is achieved by the 'life of the spirit,' language which to the Christian has a Johannine ring. But he deprecates the dualism in which the Platonic philosophy soon involves us, insisting that the 'nature of things must be grounded and founded in the Godhead, and the Godhead must be all in all,' quoting for once St. Paul (with whose theology he has generally little sympathy), to the effect that 'in Him we live, and move and have our being.'² That which in Plato's conception was an Idea of the God above the range of things visible, is planted by the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation *within* time and in the sensible sphere. We must regret that Eucken is unable to accept the Christian presentation of the Divine Life in humanity, although he calls Christianity 'in the whole of its effects and existence the religion of religions.'³ Truth, he thinks, is 'not the copy of an absolute essence but an elevation to an Absolute Life.' Man's grasp of this religious truth can only be secured, if it is rested immediately and independently upon the foundation of man's own deepest nature. There have been other philosophers who have taught that there is a life of the soul which is larger than that intellectual life which is amenable to logical processes of thought. M. Bergson speaks of 'realities of the metaphysical order which are internal to the phenomenal life, although limited by it.' Such realities in science, art, morals, are apprehended directly by the soul, when it is able to master the world of phenomena. But this inner spiritual activity has to assert itself through conflict and even suffering. Man has to realize the life of the spirit

¹ *The Truth of Religion*, p. 581.² *Op. cit.* p. 216.³ *Op. cit.* English preface.

within his own being, and this he can only do with the help of Religion. For, in Eucken's view, all the great religions are 'redemptive'; they respond to the human demand for liberation from suffering and guilt, for spiritual 'self-acquisition.'¹ It is Religion alone which can assert man's place 'in a world which is superior not only to nature but to culture.'

'Once that the religious problem has taken a deep hold on the soul, it never lets a man go; he may crush it down and shake it off and banish it as far as he can from his thoughts, but he cannot help throwing passion into his very disavowal and making this the cardinal question of his life. His unbelief itself becomes an inmost conviction, another form of belief. And thus in truth the strongest power within the world is the conviction of an over-world.'²

How like Robert Browning's words!

'You call for faith:

I show you doubt, to prove that faith exists.

The more of doubt, the stronger faith, I say,

If faith o'ercomes doubt. . . .

All's doubt in me; where's break of faith in this?

It is the idea, the feeling and the love,

God means mankind should strive for and show forth

Whatever the process to that end.'³

Perhaps this describes the philosopher's own attitude of mind. In the foreword to his little treatise he tells us how from early days he was exercised by religious problems, partly under the influence of personal troubles, although unable to subscribe to the dogmas of any Church. He tried in vain to suppress his interest in these problems, but they were always returning upon him in the course of his philosophical studies. And now he feels that the time is come for avowing his attitude towards Christianity. 'Age approaches and no one can tell how long, the

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* pp. 129, 131.

² *Ap. Kessler, R. Eucken's Bedeutung für das moderne Christentum*, p. 52.

³ *Bp. Blougram's Apology.*

capacity for vigorous work will be vouchsafed to him. . . . Already the contending forces have joined battle, and it is a duty to declare oneself and do what one can to promote the cause which is at stake.' The matter is urgent. He sees the Christian world riven asunder by a cleavage of opinion. On the one side is the old reverence for Christianity and the traditional respect accorded her by the State. On the other side we see a passionate revolt not against doctrines alone, but against the Christian system as a whole: a feeling no longer confined to the upper strata of society, but evinced in the stolid indifference and, sometimes, the stormy hatred of the masses. Witness the decline in Church attendance, and the jubilant satisfaction of thousands 'in any great modern city, at least in Germany, at any blow dealt at Christianity. Organized programmes are set on foot, and the culture of the workers is behind them.' The question is inevitable: has Christianity had its day, or does this movement betoken an inner reconstruction of it? Are these the pangs of a new birth?

Such is the problem which Eucken sets before him; he develops his answer in broad outline, with an often tantalizing lack of detail, and in a philosophical terminology all his own. He advocates the formulation of what must be called a Neo-Christianity—a religion of the Spirit, from which every characteristic doctrine of the Catholic Church, notably those of the Trinity and the Incarnation, is to be eliminated, a Church which shall retain its corporate unity in the Spirit without Sacraments and without dogmas. The 'substance' of Christianity is to be retained, while its 'existential form' has been abandoned.

The question may now be asked: how far will English Churchmen follow this German reformer in his effort to 're-consolidate' Religion? It might be premised, that the feeling of the masses in this country towards the Church is not exactly what it is said to be in Germany,¹ a feeling which oscillates between embitterment and indifference, with

¹ Eucken recognizes this difference, and remarks the antipathy of German Socialism to the alliance of 'Altar and Throne.'

a leaning towards a political antipathy. In such a book as *Facing the Facts*, plenty of evidence of indifference is adduced, but little of hostility.¹ Or, again, we may turn to Mr. C. F. G. Masterman's *Condition of England* and read² about the religion of the 'Suburbans'; 'it is necessary to notice this element of weakening supernatural sanctions, to enquire how far this process has gone and whither it is tending.' 'I seriously doubt,' writes Dr. Gore, as there quoted, 'whether nearly half the grown men of the country could seriously say that they believed that Christ is God, or that He really rose on the third day from the dead. It is not that they have become Unitarians. It is that their religious opinions are in complete chaos.' And again, Canon Barnett is quoted: 'The desertion of the churches and the somewhat undignified efforts of the churches to attract congregations are equally the outward signs of spiritual failing.'³

It must be allowed at any rate that there is among us a malady of the spirit, although it may be variously diagnosed and various courses of treatment may be prescribed. One such prescription we are now to consider. Enough has already been said to shew that in Eucken the Christian theologian is bound to recognize a truly religious thinker, who has entered deeply into the spirit of Christ's ethical teaching and has a profound conviction of the impregnable foundation of religion in the depths of human nature. He is not afraid of reason, nor would he distinguish value-judgements from judgements of fact; but he feels that there is a range of existence, an over-world, into which man may enter by a 'new birth,' a 'new step of reality' to which he may attain by the 'life-process.' And that supreme reality is not cognizable by the experimental methods of physical science. Thus far he has not broken with the apologists of historical Christianity. But a breach is inevitable when one comes to examine his conception of that 'Geistesleben,' the life of the spirit, in its bearings on the value of the in-

¹ *Facing the Facts*, edited by the Rev. W. Lowther Clarke, *vide* pp. 65, 93, 100, 169.

² P. 87.

³ *Ibid.* p. 274.

dividual human soul and its future in that 'super-historical drama, of which the *dénouement* is veiled from human eyes.'¹ Eucken discusses very acutely the drift of modern life. Man is like to get lost in his work; 'he lays aside all mere self-existence and transforms himself into a willing tool of the processes of civilization and culture. . . . The old inwardness of the soul with all its greatness and goodness is ordered out of the centre of life to its periphery; indeed the soul is now driven not only out of nature, but out of its own inward life as well. We cannot conceive of a more deadly assault on religion than all this.'² But this surrender of the freedom of the soul Eucken passionately denounces. Man is 'more than his work.' Man is not like Aristotle's slave, an 'animated tool.' There is something within us which defies that verdict of modern civilization. There is a 'thrust of life' (*Lebensdrang*) within us, not a mere natural impulse to self-preservation, still less the clinging to the petty 'ego' which is only anxious to save its own creature comforts; on the contrary, the problem is the maintenance and unfolding of the life of the spirit, and the question is, can we and will we, invited to be fellow-builders of the whole, forward this great enterprise?³ If that 'thrust of life,' call it metaphysical, if you will, not physical, is once relaxed, life becomes a vain show. All the time we are seeking a good which is ours. As Pascal says, 'Thou wouldst not seek Me, unless thou hadst found Me.' And thus Eucken arrives at the 'turn' (*Wendung*) to religion; for only in that way can the spiritual life be affirmed, in a world which is superior to culture and to Nature alike. He is careful to distinguish 'personality' as something to be acquired by moral and spiritual effort,⁴ from that 'individuality' or subjective caprice, which shews itself in modern life, in

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 134.

² *The Truth of Religion*, pp. 36, 37.

³ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 131.

⁴ Cf. *Life of the Spirit*, p. 84. 'We are only justified in setting a high value upon personality, if we believe that it reveals to us a new kind of process—in fact, a new world.'

strange juxtaposition to the collectivist spirit, in the domain of art and morals, as also in sectarian religion. Man brings himself into an inner connexion with the whole and its foundations, not without experience of many complications, contradictions and hindrances on the way. But he may maintain the fight in confidence. 'This battle does not rest entirely with ourselves. There are stronger forces engaged in it than those of mere man.'¹ This is significant; and in one passage he speaks of a strong 'undercurrent,' even in the modern mind, which sets towards the soul of Christianity.²

One cannot see why such a philosophy should not form the basis of a Christian theology, in which the doctrine of the Incarnation would still be central, speaking to us as it does of a Humanity which is rather representative and universal; or even 'cosmic,' than individual. But for the dogmatic system of the Church Eucken has only one course of treatment, a severe surgery. Of less drastic critics he would say:

'They do but skin and film the ulcerous place.'

οὐ πρὸς ἰατροῦ σοφοῦ
θρηνεῖν ἐπαδὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πῆματι.

He thinks to retain the substance and sacrifice the form, in deference to modern doubt. Accordingly, the doctrines of the Godhead of our Lord, the Virgin Birth, the Trinity, the Atonement, Descent into Hell, Resurrection, are successively dismissed as mythological, anthropomorphic, the survivals of a 'Ptolemaic' or anthropocentric era of thought now long obsolete.³ Christianity is not the absolute religion; it is one among the great world-religions, in which (to use his own suggestive terminology) Universal Religion has taken the form of a Characteristic Religion. There is an essential flaw common to Christian ethic and

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 106.

² *Op. cit.* p. 88.

³ *The Truth of Religion*, p. 427.

Christian doctrine ; that they undermine the independence and freedom of the spirit's life, by withholding from man the credit of his own moral achievements. We must revert to this point presently.

The Christian religion, as we know it, is bound up with certain historical facts which we affirm in the Creeds ; with the Incarnation, the Death of Christ ' for us men and for our salvation,' the Resurrection and Ascension. In the Neo-Christianity which is proposed for our acceptance, these facts are reduced by criticism to shadowy simulacra. Eucken insists, if we understand him, that it is the ' activity of thought ' and not the sensible impression of the present, which gives a fact its value. This determines our attitude to history. We cannot naïvely accept the data of tradition ; they must be submitted to this criterion of thought. ' It becomes a pressing question whether something which answered to the demands of one particular time can operate beyond that time to all times ; whether it will not gradually fade and lose its force.'

The relation of Faith to historical fact is probably the most urgent of our religious problems, and we ought to welcome every real contribution to its solution. In T. H. Green's memorable Sermon on Faith, given in a lecture-room at Balliol in the autumn of 1877, in relief of the even then ' present distress,' we were told : ' There is an inner contradiction in that conception of Faith which makes it a state of mind involving peace with God and love towards all men, and at the same time makes its object the historical work of Christ, of which our knowledge depends on evidence of uncertain origin and value.' And again, ' Its object is not past events, but a present reconciled indwelling God. . . . It is no doubt historically conditioned ; but it is not on an intellectual estimate of its own conditions that it depends for being what it is.'¹ But is this view of a faith which includes two elements, in many minds not very happily harmonized, altogether at variance with the description of faith, as a primal act of basal personality,

¹ T. H. Green, *The Witness of God and Faith* (Longmans. 1883), pp. 67, 68, 73.

which we find in Dr. H. S. Holland's Essay in *Lux Mundi*?¹ In the twenty years that have elapsed, the presentation of the case for Christianity has been modified; its advocate is less disposed to impale himself on the horns of a dilemma (the *Entweder . . . Oder*—'either . . . or' on which Eucken sometimes insists). He has learnt, from recent psychological inquiry, that there are tracts of human nature still unexplored, and spiritual phenomena which are not to be rationalized away. So, on the one hand, the frontiers of the 'natural order' are less rigidly defined: a 'miracle' may prove to be, in the words of Augustine, 'not contrary to Nature, but contrary to Nature as she is known to us.' On the other hand, much more stress is laid upon the inner truth than upon the outward symbol, upon the fact of the Divine energy than upon the mode of its operation. This justifies a larger reach of charity as to the limits of necessary belief. As a Church, we hold as firmly as ever to the objective character of the great Facts of the Creed, but we need not charge with heresy those who think that their spiritual apprehension is infinitely more important than the exact mode of their objective occurrence. As time goes on, it is certain that, at least in all Reformed Communions, authority will explicitly permit, though it may be slow to encourage, a latitude of spiritual interpretation.

But a Christianity in which the Divine-Human personality of Jesus Christ is no longer the determining factor or, in New Testament language, the 'chief corner-stone,' is not 'another' but a 'different' Gospel. In common with the great majority of German religious thinkers, Eucken abandons the doctrine of the Incarnation: 'That meeting of Godhead and Manhood in one Person, two essences in one Life, cannot possibly be more nearly defined, without the loss of the equilibrium of the parts; the one side depresses or rather annihilates the other. The Very God makes of the Manhood a mere semblance (*blossen Schein*),

¹ 'Belief in God never changes its character and becomes belief in facts: it only develops into a deeper and deeper belief in God as disciplined by facts.' *Lux Mundi*, 3rd edit., p. 43.

or the Very Man destroys the Very God and the Godhead comes to be only a heightening of the Manhood.' ¹ He proceeds to argue that a God who knew quite well that He would soon resume His Godhead, shares the sorrows of humanity as little as a prince would share the cares of the poor by assuming for a time the garb and occupations of poverty. This general and rather crude indictment includes the doctrine of the One Mediator and the Atonement. Eucken refuses the attribute of Redeemer to Jesus Christ, because the Evangelical doctrine, according to which the wrath of God is only appeased by the Blood of His Son (!), 'is much too anthropomorphic and cannot be reconciled with purer conceptions of the Godhead.' ² To an English Churchman it seems passing strange that a profound German thinker should thus unconsciously travesty the doctrines of the Creed. The God and the Man cannot be dis severed in the Christ as 'with the hatchet' of a human dialectic. In so far as theology has ever attempted it, it has laid itself open to later criticism. To quote Dr. Sanday: 'Is it to be expected that the philosophical and theological armoury of the fifth to the eighth centuries A.D. should supply weapons that are proof against attack for all time?' ³ As Plato declared that 'there is an ancient feud between philosophy and poetry' (*παλαιά τις διαφορὰ φιλοσοφίας καὶ ποιητικῆς*), there is no less a controversy to-day between those who allow for a large element of mystery in their religion and those who do not. Gregory of Nyssa could say, even in the Fourth century, as to the Two Natures in our Lord, 'We are not capable of grasping the manner of the blending of the Divine with the Human.' ⁴ This is a principle which the theologian himself forgets at times. But one who accepts this will be ready to apply the criterion of 'fact' in religion which Eucken proposes: It must come to us from within, not from without; its certitude is not that of individual occurrence but of a

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 32: cf. *The Truth of Religion*, p. 585.

² *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 186.

³ *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, p. 54.

⁴ *Catech. Or.* II.

movement and an event in which all are concerned, which transcends all individual opinion and significance, a kernel-truth of world-happening. Such a truth enters into the soul with an intimacy which only its reference to the Whole can ensure. And it is only further established by the progressive endorsement of history ; in which each advance is marked by a fresh retreat of the visible before the invisible. But, truly, this is to many of us only a restatement of the 'quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus' in modern terms.

Eucken himself applies his canon of 'fact' to the Personality of Jesus, when he writes thus : 'The human personality who first and foremost brought eternal truth to the plane of time and through this inaugurated a new epoch remains permanently present in the picture of the spiritual world and is able permanently to exercise a mighty power upon the soul. Such a personality as Jesus is not the mere bearer of doctrines or of a special frame of mind, but is a convincing fact and proof of the Divine Life, a proof at which new life can be kindled ever anew.'¹ Does not this remind us of the words of Athanasius, after rehearsing the present triumphs of the Faith of Christ ? 'But this is not the work of the dead, but of the Living, and indeed of God Himself.'²

We appeal to Dr. Eucken to revise his judgement of those Catholic doctrines which are ancillary to the central truth to which he can give this noble expression. When he reduces the doctrine of Redemption to an unprofitable abstraction, has he allowed its proper emphasis to the universal fact of human nature, witnessed by human history, which we call Sin ?³ Is it conceivable that a Neo-Christianity in

¹ *The Truth of Religion*, p. 588.

² *De Incarn.* xxx. 5.

³ We find the only approximation to the Christian view in the following passage : 'The contradiction extends, not against something that is apart from us, but against the nearest thinkable thing—against the Absolute Life that is the basis of our inmost being, against our own being itself . . . against not only an impersonal law, but against the world-power immediately present as a whole. Thus evil appears as a personal outrage—a contempt of the highest

which, of the triad of indispensable truths, God, Freedom and Immortality, the first and third are but dimly outlined, will bring peace and rest to a sin-laden and suffering world? Can such a Gospel be preached to the poor?

The limits of an article will not permit us to enter properly upon the questions of higher criticism and the history of dogma, which arise directly out of Eucken's argument. We will merely invite attention to the somewhat arbitrary tone of the following passages:—

'It became more and more apparent (*i.e.* since the Reformation) how untrustworthy is the tradition of the words of Jesus, to which the Church appeals, and how tempting the conjecture that they were first attributed to Jesus under the influence of the growing Church.' ¹

'To-day there can be no doubt that a considerable later element has found its way into our records of Jesus, and that we view his portrait not in its clearness, but largely through the medium of the convictions and reverence of later days.' ²

Set against this rather supercilious depreciation of the Christian documents the words of a master among English theological scholars, in regard to St. Luke's Gospel: 'I should incline to put it shortly after 70 A.D.; I am not convinced that it need fall quite so late as between 78 and 93, the limits proposed by Dr. Harnack.' But St. Mark was written earlier, 'certainly while some of the Apostles were still living, and probably before the fall of Jerusalem in the year 70.' ³ To much the same effect Mr. W. E. Addis writes, 'It is admitted that St. Mark wrote at latest soon after the final victory of Titus (A.D. 70), so that his Gospel belongs to the sub-apostolic age.' ⁴

And this leads us naturally to another criticism. There good; it shapes itself into sin and guilt, and weighs upon the soul of man with incomparably greater heaviness.' (*The Truth of Religion*, p. 424.)

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.

³ *The Study of the Gospels*, by the present Dean of Wells, pp.

13, 15.

⁴ *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. W. Sanday, D.D., p. 386.

are features in Christian dogma and ethics which are not easily reconciled with that *Kraftgefühl*, that 'consciousness of strength,' which 'the modern age' (perhaps especially in Germany) extols. There is the teaching about human helplessness and the all-sufficiency of Grace; all that we connect with the thought of the Cross. There is the gentleness and tenderness inculcated upon the first followers of Christ, a doctrine which nevertheless has undergone some modification in the course of time. It seems to Eucken that our inherited Christian ethic involves an error which has its dangers; the error of making, not the growth of spiritual energy, but the formation of a good character its objective.¹ How comes it that this general imprint is set upon Christian doctrine and morals? The answer is, that it is the product of an outworn and nerveless age (*eine müde und matte Zeit*).² 'Christianity was established in an age which was wanting in vigorous vitality, and was chiefly intent on gaining a safe harbour of refuge. But it seemed that this could be found only in opposition to the confused activity of the world, in a supernatural order.'³ Eucken goes on to say that, in order to be assured of the supernatural, men insisted on a sensuous embodiment and visible pledges. That is his theory of the Sacraments. 'Such a mixing of external signs with the inner life has become (to the modern mind) something magical, and an intolerable hindrance to freedom.'⁴ To a student of theology, Catholic and even Protestant, this seems very paltry criticism. The critic appears once more (as in regard to the doctrine of the Incarnation) to have fallen under the spell of his '*Entweder . . . Oder*.' He will have no half-tones; he insists on a sharp cleavage between the Divine and the human, the invisible and the visible. But our immediate quarrel is with his assumption that Christian doctrine is the mere product of the age in which it appeared and that the age in question was one of

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 181.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 42, 43, 172, 214.

³ *Life of the Spirit*, Eng. trans., p. 220: cf. pp. 56, 224.

⁴ *The Truth of Religion*, p. 565.

utter spiritual exhaustion.¹ It is fashionable to enlarge on St. Paul's 'acute Hellenization' of the new doctrine which he had learnt from a Jewish teacher. But there is a vitality and an originality in the religion of Christ, as we meet it first in the New Testament, the results of which we know in history. Christ speaks with authority. Further: is it true that the First century of the Christian era was an age of such utter exhaustion? The 'spiritual fatigue of the world' set in at least a century later; and doubtless it has left certain traces upon the development of Catholic dogma. But the First century of our era fostered a Stoicism which was in its way a spiritual power in the higher circles of the Roman world;² it produced a religious revival under Augustus, who has been rightly called 'the maker of new Rome' as well as the 'restorer of old Rome.' It brought, in the consolidation of the framework of the Empire, the promise of justice and peace for the provinces. Nor was the religious life of the masses without hopefulness and without religious ideals. 'In the decay of ancient heathenism there was a moral and spiritual life, which was to be nourished in an unending future by the Divine ideals of Galilee.'³ Therefore, if the humility and gentleness of the Christian ideal seem to challenge the self-assertion of the individual, the explanation must be sought not in the temper of the age, but in the spirit of the Founder of Christianity.

The challenge which Rudolf Eucken has thrown down

¹ The Dean of St. Paul's uses similar language: 'So, amid the last sighs of the three great creative nations of antiquity, the Catholic Church spread its wings over an exhausted and nerveless world. It bears all the marks of its early surroundings. Graeco-Roman Catholicism is not a religion which could ever have been evolved by free men.' (*The Church and the Age*, p. 55.) But plainly he is not speaking of the infancy of the Church.

² Cf. T. R. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 38: 'Taught by the Stoic, the troubled Roman looked upon himself at once as a fragment of divinity, an entity self-conscious and individual, and as a member of a divine system expressive of one divine idea, which his individuality subserved . . . these thoughts gave him ground and strength.'

³ Sir S. Dill, *Roman Society*, etc., p. 93.

to all Christian Churches, to face the religious crisis and to reconsider their attitude towards it, is one which English Churchmen may not ignore. We may try to flatter ourselves that the matter is less urgent in England than it is in Germany; but disquieting symptoms there are, of the decay of the old national faith. Yet there are hopeful signs as well, the stirring of a new spirit of brotherhood in our midst, and the wide recognition of the deep spiritual basis of morals and life, which underlies all our differences of creed and Church government. A temper of honest inquiry is abroad. Light is welcomed, come whence it may. And from no quarter ought it to be more heartily welcomed than from the country of Luther, Goethe, Kant, Hegel, Döllinger, Harnack, to name a few of her greatest sons. We English people are strong on the practical or ethical side of thought, but Germany can help us in the quest of the foundations of our religious and philosophical thinking. The two things are complementary. There is enough of spiritual sympathy between our kindred nations to dissipate those national prejudices upon which journalists and politicians thrive.

W. YORKE FAUSSET.

ART. III.—CROXDEN ABBEY: ITS BUILDINGS AND HISTORY.

1. *The Abbey of St. Mary, Croxden, Staffordshire.* A monograph by CHARLES LYNAM, F.S.A. (London: Sprague and Co. 1911.)
2. *Monasticism in Staffordshire.* By F. A. HIBBERT, M.A., Headmaster of Denstone. (Stafford: J. and C. Mort. 1909.)
3. *The Dissolution of the Monasteries.* By F. A. HIBBERT, M.A. (London: Sir I. Pitman and Sons. 1910.)

4. *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*. Published by the William Salt Archaeological Society. Various Volumes. (London: Harrison and Sons.)
5. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Originally published in Latin by Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE. Vol. V. (London: published for the proprietors by James Bohn. 1846.)
6. *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*. Edited by J. G. NICHOLS. Vol. ii. (pp. 297-310, extracts from the annals of Crokesden Abbey.) (London. 1834.)
7. *Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Hen. VIII. Auctoritate Regia institutus*. Vol. iii.. (Printed by command of His Majesty King George III. 1817.)

And other Works.

CROXDEN ABBEY, in the beautiful district north-east of the Potteries which redeems Staffordshire from the reproach of being a county of smoke and grime, is of interest if only for the extensive remains which have survived. The west front of the church is almost complete, with a central doorway of exceptional beauty and three graceful lancets rising to the full height of the gable. The area of the garth is complete except in the south-west corner, where a farm-house has been built. Much of the east side is intact in its lower storey and has the front of the chapter-house with its arcade of three handsome arches, the entrance to the treasury to the north of the chapter-house, with sacristy behind, the parlour to the south (complete), and the adjoining passage with the door in its wall opening into the common-room—in all a series of six fine moulded arches. Of the common-room three sides are standing, and the staircase leading up to the long dormitory above can easily be made out. The undercroft of the western buildings remains in its northern part. The buildings on the south side of the garth are less unaltered, but the arrangement of the offices is plain, and the remains of the Abbot's chamber, off the south-east corner of the main buildings, are sufficient to shew its character. The remains of the church on the north side of the garth consist, besides the west wall, of

the south wall of the nave, in part only a few feet from the ground but mostly much higher, a good portion of the south transept, to its full height, and sufficient of the eastern termination to indicate the shape and arrangement of that part of the building. Recently Mr. Lynam, an architect and an enthusiastic antiquary, has conducted an exhaustive survey of the site and remains on behalf of the North Staffordshire Field Club, and his examination of the walls above ground and his excavations of those which are now under the surface, have confirmed previous opinions and added some new information. In particular the position and dimensions of the infirmary and its kitchen have been determined. It will be seen that remains such as these are unusually extensive, and they are as a rule in excellent preservation. Many of the mouldings are still sharp and clean, and the ruinous ivy which had accumulated on many parts of the buildings has been cleared away, to the manifest advantage of the walls, and of course much to the advantage of anyone who seeks to examine them and to read the story they have to tell.

I

Of the three Cistercian houses in Staffordshire which the spoilers found in the Sixteenth century, Croxden was the oldest. The other two were Dieulacres, founded in 1214 by the famous Earl, Ralf Blundeville, and Hulton, founded early in the next reign by Henry de Audley. But it was not the earliest Cistercian house in the country. In the troublous times of Stephen a small company of recluses, men and women, sought refuge in the recesses of Cannock Chase at Radmore, near Beaudesert. Though they tried to avoid politics and obtained charters from both the contending parties alike, the place was too remote and the lawlessness too great for them, and by the Empress Matilda's advice the house was put under the control of the Cistercians, and the women were dismissed. Even so the place was doomed to failure. In the forest food was obtained with difficulty and depredations were easy, and the brethren had

to give up their attempt. At Matilda's request her son Henry, just crowned king, gave them the manor of Stoneleigh in Warwickshire, and thither they went in 1154.

The incident is instructive, for it shews that the earlier Cistercians were true to their original principles, which were that their houses should be away from towns, castles, and public haunts; and it shews, too, that these principles involved waiting until some sort of law and order reigned before a Cistercian house could be built. The great expansion of the Order in England during Stephen's reign is no disproof of this, for it shewed itself mainly in the North, which was comparatively quiet.

Staffordshire was midway between North and South, and a generation had to grow up under Henry II's rule of law before the county could witness any permanent settlement of Cistercians. Croxden was then the place selected. Thus, although Croxden was not the first place in Staffordshire to see Cistercian monks, it was the first place where Cistercians settled.

The Abbey originated in the following way. Among the new officials whom Henry II raised up to counteract the power of the feudal baronage was Bertram de Verdun. His family connexions stretched out to both sides. Through marriage he was connected with Earl Ferrars, one of the many magnates who shared in the ruin of feudal powers on the collapse of the great rising of 1173, and he was also connected with the Clintons, who had built up a family and estate as a result of their legal services since the time of Henry I. The Verduns themselves came of an old stock, and Bertram was consistently loyal to Henry II throughout. He was one of the king's most trusted servants, and on the occasion of the great ejection of sheriffs in 1170 he received the shrievalties of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, and retained them for fifteen years. In the last great feudal effort of 1173 he stood by the king, and in 1185 he accompanied the expedition to Ireland, when the attempt was made to make that country a kingdom for Prince John.

Among the possessions of Bertram de Verdun were lands in North Staffordshire, and when the time became

favourable for developing them he followed the usual plan of placing a community of religious to assist in the work. The Benedictine would have been the chosen Order in earlier years, but it had exhausted its powers of expansion. Many rough districts of England—remote wilds, bleak uplands, swampy valleys—remained untouched by it. This was the opportunity of the Cistercians, and the foundation of Croxden Abbey is typical of what often happened.

While Bertram de Verdun was meditating the reclamation of his wild Staffordshire lands, he visited his relative the Constable of Normandy, who took him to see the religious house at Aunay, near Bayeux, which his family had founded. The result was that de Verdun requested the Abbot of Aunay to send some of his brethren to found a house of the Order near his castle at Alton. They arrived in 1176, and Croxden was dedicated in 1181.¹

Bertram's Charter of Foundation, undated, is in the Bodleian Library. Most, if not all, of the possessions with which it endowed the monks they retained to the end of their existence, and in the course of years other possessions accrued to them. But Croxden was never a rich or important abbey, though in the days when the wool trade was a lucrative business it was prosperous. It played no part in national history, and the oft-repeated story of King John's bequest of his heart to the Abbot (alleged to be his physician) and its burial in the Abbey has no foundation in fact, though it still appears in reputable compilations.² The chief possessions of the Abbey at its beginning were, besides its desirable site, sundry lands in Alton with the patronage of the church there, Musden Grange near Dovedale, Oaken Grange near Tetterhall, Tugby Manor and church in Leicestershire, together with

¹ The following dates have been given for the beginning of the Abbey:—1135, 1138, 1174, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1188, 1189. The date of foundation was of course a matter of practical importance in the Cistercian Order.

² A Roman Catholic writer in the *Month* (June 1894) boldly asserted that the key of the casket in which it was enshrined was sold at the Alton Towers sale in 1857.

other smaller items. By the time of Pope Nicholas IV (1288) the Granges of Cledere, Onecote, and Cauldon had been added, the last by exchange in 1287, and as time went on a goodly list of lands and tenements swelled the rent roll. Abbot William of Evere (1297-1308) purchased a London house for 40*l*.

Although the first monks came from Normandy, and, as we shall see, brought with them foreign ideas of building, the strong commonsense of the parent house provided an Englishman for the first Abbot. His name was Thomas of Woodstock, and he held office till his death in 1229, a period of over fifty-one years.

Long before the death of Abbot Thomas the founder had passed to his rest. When Richard I set out on his crusade, Bertram de Verdun accompanied him, raising money for the purpose by selling to the wealthy Abbot of Burton-on-Trent his manor and advowson of Stapenhill. He was with the King at Marseilles on August 5, 1190, for he witnessed a royal document there on that day. He took part in the brilliant exploit when Jaffa was relieved (on August 5, 1192) by Richard with a small force hastily landed in the face of Saladin himself and seven thousand infidels. He was killed in the engagement, and the Croxden 'Chronicle' records that he was buried at Acre on St. Bartholomew's Day following.

II

The long rule of the first Abbot enabled the new Abbey of St. Mary to be placed on a firm footing. He made a good beginning with the buildings. No contemporary record remains of his achievements, but undoubtedly the church was well in hand at the time of his death. It was sufficiently advanced in the time of the second Abbot, who only held office for four years (1230-34), for the royal sanction to be obtained for its dedication. Two more abbots were, however, to hold office, each for a short period only, before the actual dedication was possible. It was at last dedicated in the time of the fifth Abbot in the year 1254.

It was a building of striking dignity, and was thoroughly characteristic of the Order by which it was raised. The great Cistercian revival, which originated at the Abbey of Cîteaux in 1098, aimed at simplicity and austerity in everything, even in the style and fittings of its buildings. The church at Croxden was typically severe. In its great size it well exemplifies the magnificent conception which its designers had of the dignity of worship. When completed it measured no less than 235 feet in total length. Its nave was 51 feet 7 inches wide, including the aisles, the span of the nave proper being 28 feet 9 inches. Its height was about 57 feet. Both span and height were thus about the same as those of Lichfield Cathedral, but the Croxden nave had one more bay than Lichfield, *viz.* eight, and each was 12 feet wide. It was 152 feet 8 inches long to the centre of the crossing.

The nave derived its impressiveness solely from its length and proportions, for all decorative treatment was rigidly eschewed. The capitals of the piers were simply moulded, and even that adornment was absent from the bases. Above, there was probably no triforium. Behind the nave arcade ran narrow aisles with vaulted roofs, springing from shafts with plain bases and moulded capitals. In the bays on the south side were small windows recessed in the thickness of the wall, and placed high up and rising into the vaulting so as to allow of the cloister on the outer side of the wall. The windows in the north wall appear, from the portion which remains in the west wall, to have been lower. The clerestory windows, with steeply-sloping sills,¹ were therefore the chief means of lateral lighting, and the three slender lancets in the west wall, exceptionally tall, were not only exceedingly beautiful in themselves but eminently useful.

Admittance was gained at the west end through two doors, one opening into the south aisle and a larger one into the central nave. This latter, approached by four steps, has an arch of exceptional beauty on its outer side, though it is characteristically simple within. Outside it is

¹ Cf. Fountains (*e.g.* Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 101).

beautifully proportioned, with four orders of mouldings, detached shafts, and moulded capitals. Just in the second bay of the south aisle was a door leading down into the undercroft of the Lay Brothers' quarters, and at the other end was another door leading down into the east walk of the cloister: this also is plain within and more elaborate without.

At the crossing were four piers more substantial than those in the nave, which were slender clusters of columns. There was no central or other tower, but at the two western piers of the crossing there began a difference in the construction of the roof. Westwards it was of timber, and at the Dissolution was sold for 6*l.*; here it began to be of stone, though the ridge outside continued without a break. Other changes in character also began here. The masonry was neater and some ornamentation was introduced. The vaulting of the transepts rose from shafts with corbels on which carving, disallowed hitherto, was admitted. Two other features shew that this eastern part of the church was later than the nave, and indicate a growing desire for more display. The transepts as they stood when complete measured 29 feet 9 inches from north to south and 38 feet 9 inches from east to west. Originally they had been planned, and partly built, at 26 feet only from east to west; but while they were in building more ambitious ideas were developed and they were increased both in height and width. Although the vaulting had actually been begun and some feet of its ribs completed, a fresh beginning was made on the existing work, at a different angle to allow of an increased height. Also two chapels were added alongside one another on the eastern sides, thus adding some 12 feet to the width of each transept.

The end and western walls were each pierced by two tall lancet windows like those at the main entrance to the church. The east walls had triforium and clerestory, and an arcade of two arches enclosing the two small chapels already mentioned. In the south wall of the south chapel was an aumbry, and opening out of the south transept was the door leading to the sacristy. This had a semicircular

arch in two orders of moulding. Outside, the ridge of the roof which covered the sacristy and treasury, both of which were alongside the wall of the south transept, ran parallel to the latter, rising from beneath its windows. The drip-course under the windows and on the buttress which projects between them (where it rises at a sharp angle which shews the high pitch of the roof) still remains.

In the treatment of the eastern end of the church the builders at Croxden broke away from Cistercian custom. In company with their brethren at Beaulieu, whose church was approaching completion at the same time (it was consecrated in 1246), they did not follow the usual arrangement of a rectangular presbytery, but built an apse of two bays beyond the great arch (25 feet in span) at the crossing. Moreover they included also an ambulatory of six piers. This was the plan of the church at the parent house, which was being built when the first monks came to Croxden, and its adoption emphasizes the unusual origin of our Abbey. Most Cistercian houses arose as offshoots of a neighbouring abbey, but Croxden was founded direct from the foreign house of Aunay. When the Cluniac church at Lewes was remodelled, soon after 1100, it was arranged like Croxden, also copying its parent house. The second Clairvaux and the church at Pontigny also had this arrangement, and it was adopted when the choir was begun at Westminster in 1245, by which time the church at Croxden was nearing completion. Originally it was perhaps derived from the church of St. Martin of Tours, which was one of the most important monastic churches in the West and a special resort of pilgrims. For the accommodation of such visitors the arrangement was eminently convenient, and this accounts for its general adoption in pilgrimage churches. But Cistercians in their sequestered houses did not expect or desire crowds of devotees,¹ and so did not need the long ambulatory, though it was convenient for the great Sunday procession when every altar

¹ An interesting exception at Merevale, in the abnormal time of the Black Death, is given in *Salt Collections* N.S. viii. 98, 99.

had to be asperged before the principal mass of the week.¹ The apsidal ambulatory at Croxden had piers on its inner side, and on its outer opened five radiating chapels. These, like the whole of the presbytery and sanctuary, were vaulted, and there were two windows in each, with external buttresses between the windows and larger buttresses at the junction of each pair of chapels. The chapels were of about the same height as those in the transepts, and were 17 feet 6 inches in diameter; and above the presbytery the triforium and clerestory were continued, the internal effect being similar to that at Westminster and Tewkesbury. The arches of the chapels were of 14 feet span and the ambulatory was about 9 feet wide.

Something can be gleaned about the filling of the windows. The earlier Cistercians forbade the use of coloured glass, and in the nave the windows were filled with wooden frames; so were the lancets of the transepts. The windows of the chapels opening off the ambulatory were glazed in the ordinary way. The paving-tiles in the nave and aisles were of plain buff and blue, but elsewhere they had geometrical and heraldic patterns.

The contrast between the severely plain and austere nave with its total lack of anything approaching ornamentation and the more elaborately treated eastern end—with its carved capitals, triforium and clerestory, ambulatory and chapels shewing through the arcade of the presbytery—was exceedingly effective, and from the west end the prospect of the long church, with its graceful piers and arches, closed by the complex arrangement round the high altar, was impressive. There were in all ten altars in the church, besides one in the sacristy—the high altar, two in each transept, and one in each of the five chapels round the apse. All were simple and plain in accordance with Cistercian custom. The paintings on the walls of the Gatehouse Chapel were a concession to lay weakness.

The church became the family burying-place of the Verduns. The founder himself had been buried at Acre, but the bones of his father Norman, who had died about 1159,

¹ Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 157, 170.

were 'translated' to Croxden and buried near the altar of the Holy Trinity on the north side, and his son Sir Nicholas was buried there in 1231. Sir John de Verdun was buried near these. Sir Theobald de Verdun 'was laid by the bones of his fathers with great honour,' as the 'Chronicle' records, on October 12, 1309, in the south transept; and Matilda, daughter of Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had married Sir Theobald the younger in 1302, was 'most honourably' buried in 1312 before the altar of St. Benedict, in the presence of Bishop Gilbert of Annaghdown, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, 'and all the nobility of England.' In 1316, on September 19, the next Sir Theobald was buried in the church, and in 1326 Sir Philip Barinton his 'brother in arms,' who had received knighthood with him in 1298: he was buried before the altar of St. Lawrence. In 1334 the Lady Joanna, daughter of Sir Theobald the younger, and last direct representative of the Verduns, died and was buried with great pomp before the high altar, between the tombs of Sir Nicholas and Sir John her great-grandfather.

The Abbot who had the happiness of seeing this splendid church dedicated was Walter of London, who held office from 1242 to 1268. He was 'most strenuous of Abbots' and his advent to office was a veritable 'blessing from the Lord,' as the 'Chronicle' expresses it. The 'Chronicle' asserts that he 'wonderfully enlarged the convent,' mentioning particularly, besides 'the halves of the church,' the monastery gates, the chapter-house, and the frater. Besides these he built and furnished the kitchen, the dormitory of the Lay Brethren, the infirmary and its cloisters, and the *probatorium*. His last work was to begin the wall surrounding the precincts, which he completed to half its extent.

The infirmary was beyond the eastern line of buildings. The great hall was 121 feet 6 inches long and 34 feet 6 inches wide, with internal buttresses supporting the arches of the roof, and a fire-place in its west wall. In the opposite wall, about two-thirds of the length towards the south, was the entrance to the chapel. This had a vaulted roof and

measured 24 feet in length and nearly 15 feet in width. The infirmary kitchen was at its south-eastern corner and was over 28 feet long and nearly 22 feet wide. The 'frater' was in the south side of the garth, and on the east side, farther south than the chapter-house, was the monks' common-room. This was 49 feet long and nearly 27 feet wide—a fine vaulted room with three piers and tall windows. The Lay Brethren's quarters were on the west side of the garth, and the building was less substantial than the rest. It collapsed a century later, in 1369.

III

Abbot Walter thus gave the convent a commodious and suitable habitation: further building operations were such as were prompted by a desire for better comfort or increased display, or when repairs were necessary.

The former was the motive which operated in the case of the next Abbot, William of Howton (1268–74). Though a monk and a Cistercian, he was a wealthy man and of literary tastes. His erection of an Abbot's chamber was therefore not unnatural, though it was a departure from the intentions of the founders of the Order. Where Abbot Howton built his chamber does not appear, but that it was pretentious and comfortable is evident from the fact that its builder himself contributed 100*l.* towards the cost of 'the hewing and placing of the worked stones.' The seventh Abbot, Henry of Meysam (1274–84), completed the wall round the precincts. To him succeeded John of Billysden. In his nine years of office he was able to bring to the Abbey a considerable increase of material prosperity. The estates were developed, often at the cost of disputes with neighbours and tenants,¹ a profitable exchange with Buildwas Abbey secured Cauldon Grange, and during his whole time there was 'abundant sufficiency.'

It was the golden age of Croxden, for its extensive sheep-runs produced ample wool of first-class quality; and the

¹ For Henry III's reign see *Salt Collections* vi. pt. I. 53, 203, 204, 233, 239, 249, 261, 265.

wool trade was at the height of its prosperity. If the Abbey had been founded earlier it might have grown into an important and really wealthy corporation. But its prosperity was too short-lived for that. The Hundred Years' War brought heavy taxation, the Black Death inflicted injuries of divers kinds, and rivals to the monastic wool-producers soon arose. For the present, however, all was sunshine, and the following half-century saw much building and many improvements. In 1332 the whole cloisters and the refectory were re-roofed. In 1334 the monks' dormitory was enlarged and re-roofed, with leaden gutters in place of the wooden ones which had done service hitherto. Now it was probably that the dormitory was extended right up to the wall of the south transept. This entailed a serious modification of the earlier arrangement. In a way it improved the appearance of the great quadrangle, for the lines of the roof were carried in a continuous horizontal line along the whole length of the eastern side, instead of being broken by an arrangement of gables. But the whole arrangement was evidently an after-thought, and had not been contemplated when the south transept was built. From an artistic point of view it was extremely questionable, for it necessitated the blocking up of the greater part of the two lancets facing south, as the new roof had to be carried right across them. It was a most extraordinary idea, and cannot have been satisfactory even as a piece of construction.

In this extensive alteration the chapter-house shared. The existing doorway and window-arches are distinctly different from those of the buildings on each side. The arch of the doorway is wider than the arches which flank it on each side, and all three have four orders of moulding. The bases of the shafts are moulded and the caps are carved. Outside, provision was made for the cloister to be vaulted, and the corbels and ribs still remain. Inside, the chapter-house had a vaulted roof supported by two columns and the side walls were of three bays.

Richard of Sheepshed became Abbot in 1335 and at once took in hand further work. At the south end of the

common-room he built an extension providing a covered approach to the offices, and 'between the infirmary kitchen and the dormitory' he built 'his new chamber.' This was a fine structure, facing the sunny quarter and overlooking the pleasant gardens on the sloping ground leading down to the brook. It was substantially built, with its walls splaying out at the base. A double chamfered string-course ran round the walls and buttresses beneath the three-light windows. The door was near the western end of the south wall, with a small single light window on its left-hand side. On entering, a screen to the right divided the entrance hall from the main hall. Nearly opposite the door, in the left-hand corner, a stone stair-turret led to the story above. The main hall was some 46 feet long and 27 feet wide. It had a vaulted roof springing from moulded corbels and supported by three piers.

The next great building operations were rendered necessary by an accident which befell the Lay Brethren's quarters, which had been built by Walter of London. This appears to have been called 'Botelston,' and to add to the unhappiness which gathered round the Abbey in the dark days when the Black Death was pursuing its ravages which are so graphically spoken of in the 'Chronicle,' the Botelston building fell down in almost its whole length, three ties alone escaping. The undercroft, 22 feet wide, remained, with its substantial vaulting carried on piers down the centre of the space and on plain corbels in the walls, and on this a new building was immediately erected and roofed with shingles.

The year 1372 was a tempestuous one, marked by floods and storms. 'On the vigil of the Purification of the Blessed Mary and during the day the wind was so tempestuous and strong that it carried off the lead from the dormitory, the infirmary, and the Abbot's chamber,' and in 1374 repairs were also needed to the cloister and the church. The latter was roofed anew with shingles and was strengthened with bolts. There are remains, too, of Fifteenth century building, apparently in modification of previous arrangements, in the south side of the garth.

The cloisters were of wood,¹ with a roof of shingles, except in front of the chapter-house, where provision was made for fine vaulting. In the west cloister there was a fireplace. The drainage was arranged carefully and wisely, with an outflow to the west, while that of the infirmary was to the east.

IV

The Croxden 'Chronicle,' which is now in the British Museum,² originated like many others. When a house had become settled and began to be flourishing, or when it obtained a particularly efficient and ambitious head—when, in fact, a feeling of public spirit and pride of ancestry had developed—the convent naturally desired to follow the prevailing fashion and place on record its annals. But these ought to be complete, so, to cover the period which had intervened since the foundation of the house, recourse was had to the 'Chronicle' of some other monastery. This was copied out, sometimes with modifications and corrections, and usually with attempts at incorporating into the record whatever was known or supposed of the history of the house for which the copy was being made. The way in which the Croxden 'Chronicle' originated is plain. The Thirteenth century saw the virtual completion of the buildings and the establishment of the convent. The splendid church had been dedicated and much building had been done. Abbot William of Howton, who built the Abbot's chamber, encouraged study and bought a Bible in nine volumes 'most admirably glossed' for 50 marks sterling. The rule of the next Abbot, John of Billysdon (1284-93), was marked by great material prosperity, and his successor was often summoned to Parliament. It looked

¹ In 1719 some of the 'palisades' were still standing. (*N. Staffs Field Club*, xlv. p. 147.)

² Dugdale gives excerpts, and there are further selections in *Collectanea Topographica*, etc., vol. ii. Mr. Lynam gives a translation of portions. It has never yet been printed in full, though it is much to be wished that it should be.

as though Croxden might become a great and important house, and it certainly ought to have its 'Chronicle.'

Who the original scribe was, we are told. In 1288 a certain 'brother William of Shepishued' was admitted. There appears to have been an affection on the part of the Sheepsheds for Croxden. Sheepshed is in Leicestershire, where Croxden had possessions at Tugby and Burton Overy. A Thomas of Sheepshed had been already admitted by Abbot Howton, and still earlier there was a Roger, who became Prior. Later we find John, Richard (who became Abbot in 1324), Roger, Adam, a second William and John. A John of Sheepshed is referred to as being a monk of Garendon, dying in 1298 soon after his brother Roger at Croxden; and a third brother, Robert, is mentioned in the same paragraph. The William who received the tonsure in 1288 was evidently moved by the growing importance of the Abbey, and by the family or local predilection for it, to start its 'Chronicle.' In the list of monks there is a note following his name telling that he 'compiled these names and the following chronicles in memory of the dead and for the consolation of his fellow-labourers in the vineyard.'

Whence he obtained his earlier annals is evident, as Mr. Lynam points out. 'Under the year 1210 the chronicle has a precise assertion of the *total* losses suffered by the Abbey of Percolude (*i.e.* Louth Park, Lincs.) in the plundering by King John of the religious foundations generally,' no other house being particularly named; and in 1253 it is stated that a certain flood 'reached to Alvingham,' which is a little place between Louth and Saltfleet. Evidently the chronicle of Percolude supplied the material for bringing the Croxden 'Chronicle' up to date.

Into the chronicle thus copied, with many erasures and alterations, Brother William of Sheepshed interwove what had been handed down of the earlier history of his house. Important dates, such as those of the elections of the Abbots, can be definitely given; but other things, such as the extent of the building operations of the first Abbot and the death of the third whilst returning from Citeaux, are 'believed' or 'said' to have happened: William Sheepshed

thus shews himself to be a discriminating and conscientious historian. When mention is made of the fifth Abbot's beginning of the circuit wall its completion by the seventh is able at once to be recorded, for the work had already been done.

When William can speak from personal knowledge, many individual touches enlighten the narrative. He records the deaths of his mother, Millicent and of 'the most beloved G. of Derby' (*i.e.* the Geoffrey *dulcissimus* in the list of monks), a brother who was professed about the same time as himself and who became apparently his close friend. The local events of course become much more detailed. We read of the burning of the church and the whole town of Leek in 1297, of disastrous gales in 1299, and of an earthquake in 1301 which startled the monks at their first refection. Many other little details shew personal knowledge. Abbot Richard had regularly before his election preferred to say mass at the Altar of the Holy Trinity and he was buried in the chapter-house 'before the pulpit'; William of Evere, tenth Abbot, was buried 'in the cloister outside the door of the church near the bench.' Definite dates with the days of the month and even of the week, and sometimes more minute details still, are given, as that Roger of Sheepshed died on February 12, 1298, 'which was a Thursday, after the last refection.' How long William of Sheepshed continued to write does not appear, but in 1307 he attended the Parliament of Carlisle as his Abbot's proxy. He had begged of those reading his chronicle 'a reciprocity of service,' and that they would 'deign to say "Because of these labours, through the mercy of God, may he rest in peace."'" But no word of gratitude occurs when another takes up his pen. The generation in which he lived was a literary one, and Abbot William of Evere added many books to the library. The 'Chronicle' records his deposition in 1308 for refusing to attend a chapter-general in, apparently, a tone of disapproval. We know Croxden had its *Obituarium*.

As the Fourteenth century draws to its close the 'Chronicle' becomes fragmentary, and ends with a dilapi-

dated page and a spurious grant to the Abbey of Dieulacres. A page out of a homily book seems to have been added as a cover.

The visitations of the Black Death have left their mark on the 'Chronicle' and the list of admissions which is appended to it. The eclipse of the sun in 1339 was followed by bad weather in several years. Most of the animals died in 1345 from rot, famine, and cold. A new scribe begins in 1340, another in 1344, and a third in 1346. The year 1347 is blank. In 1361 we read of 'A second pestilence, and every child born since the first pestilence died.' The number of monks who were admitted becomes suddenly double the average, four being transferred from other houses, and in 1360 no less than four of the monks were ordained priests together. The affairs of the house fell into such disorder that a special commission was sent from the parent house of Aunay in 1367, with the result that the Abbot (of whose election no record has appeared) was deposed. Cauldon Grange had to be mortgaged, and the debts of the house amounted to 247 marks. Misfortunes continued, and a third visitation of the plague is recorded in 1369, in which year also the Botelston building fell down.

The list of Abbots is prefixed to the list of monks 'in order as they entered the monastery': probably the whole list, of Abbots and monks, originally preceded the 'Chronicle.' The 'Chronicle' gives the dates of the first sixteen Abbots, and the list comes to a conclusion with the twenty-fourth, who was elected in 1519, being translated from Hulton. To him followed a Richard, elected in 1529, and then came the twenty-sixth and last, who was elected in 1534.¹ The 'Chronicle' supplies no dates for the Abbots after recording the election of William Gunstone in 1367, but he certainly ruled till 1398. Roger Preston was Abbot in 1433 and John Dronfield in 1460. John of Checkley-Walton was in office in 1469 and 1474.

The names of the brethren begin with those admitted by the second Abbot only, and the scribe is unable to give the admittances of the third and fourth Abbots.

¹ Hutchinson, *The Archdeaconry of Stoke-on-Trent*, p. 34.

Indeed he can only give the names of those who remained when Dan Walter of London became head—another proof of the ability and success of that ‘most strenuous of Abbots.’ The Patent Rolls give us two additional names in 1284, *viz.* Robert de Carduyl and Thomas de Leyc’. Among the earliest list thus given we find some of the usual officers—prior, cellarer, principal master of the novices, and chanters. Most of the names are English, and many of the brethren evidently came from the neighbourhood: names like Bradley, Derby, Alton, Eccleshall, Stafford, Ashbourne, Wolverhampton, Ipstones, Quixhill (near Denstone), Chellastone, Waterfall, Denstone, Rocester, Uttoxeter, Stone, Crakemarsh, Farley, Grindon, Leek, Blyth, Hulton, Tettenhall, etc., appear, and later, when place-names give place to surnames, names like Critchlow, Keeling, Orpe, Challoner, and Standlow, which are still common in the district, are found.

In the list of admittances there are one or two points of interest. We have mentioned Geoffrey of Derby, who is styled *dulcissimus*; on the other hand there is Richard Bernard, who is said to be *ira plenus*. The twenty-sixth on the list is Henry de Norton who in 1266 ran away and abjured his vows. A royal warrant was issued for his arrest. Opposite two of the names in the third quarter of the Thirteenth century we read *vacat*, and opposite one in the time of Abbot Richard of Ashby (1309–29) ‘apostate.’ One can easily imagine such men as these, dedicated in early life by pious or provident parents, and then, finding themselves without any real vocation, choosing to be honest outcasts rather than dishonest monks and returning to the world from which they should never have been taken. No doubt the existence of numbers of such unfitting ‘professed’ at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries helps to explain the ease with which Henry VIII carried out that vast revolution. The list of admittances was continued at Croxden down to the time of Stephen Caddy the 23rd Abbot, but none are recorded afterwards, though the election of the 24th Abbot is noted. Among the monks whose admittances

are given, eight, including Thomas 'Chalner' who became the 26th and last Abbot, signed the deed of Dissolution when the convent came to an end.

Only one monk, the sixty-second on the list, is noted as 'presbyter.' Of course the Cistercians were by no means always necessarily in priest's orders. Thomas, the first Abbot of Croxden, was a deacon when he was elected to his office. Their altars were largely served by seculars who had come to the house for training and had obtained their titles there. In this way the religious houses served the purpose of the Theological Colleges of to-day. Many of the houses had a considerable amount of ecclesiastical patronage, and much interest in the obtaining of preferment, but many of the secular clergy whom they trained, and who served their altars, must have remained in them for many years. The ordination lists of Bishop Stretton of Lichfield¹ (1359 to 1385) shew that an Ember-tide seldom came without a couple of seculars receiving ordination to a title at Croxden, so that there must have been a considerable number of clergy living in the Abbey in addition to the professed brethren. In all he ordained exactly seventy secular clergy to Croxden and his Register has been searched with the object of finding to what extent these men obtained livings. Very few of them appear to have done so, in Lichfield diocese at any rate. Twice a new vicar of Alton is appointed during the years it covers, on the presentation of the Convent of Croxden, but in neither case does it appear that he was one of the inmates of that house. Some of their own men can be traced. Robert Pulle of Pulton was ordained to Croxden (subdeacon at Trinity and deacon at Advent 1362, priest at Lent 1363) and in 1376 he died Vicar of Brewood. John de Corona was ordained to all grades in 1365: in 1379 he was instituted Vicar of Overe on May 17 by proxy, evidently on account of illness, for before May 29 he was dead. In 1369 two priests were ordained for Hereford diocese. In 1372 Ralf del Ford was presented by the neighbouring Cistercian Abbey of Dieulacres to the vicarage of Sandbach on March 7. He

¹ *Salt Collections*, N.S. viii.

was only a subdeacon at the time, for the date of his ordination to that grade is Lent (February 21) 1372. His advancement was rapid, for he became deacon at the end of the same Lent, and next September he was ordained to the priesthood.

Another instance of rapid promotion among the Croxden seculars is 'Master John of Loxley' in 1375. He was ordained subdeacon at the beginning of Lent and deacon at the end, and priest at the next ordination, at Trinity. On the other hand John of Withyngton, who was ordained deacon in 1375, did not become a priest until he obtained Letters Dispensatory to that grade in 1378. William de Grene was ordained to Croxden in 1373 and became Vicar of Albrighton in 1382. In 1379 two men obtained Letters Dispensatory from the subdiaconate to the priesthood. The intervals between promotion to the next grade of Holy Orders were usually quite short, except in the case of the regular clergy. Nicholas de Tettenhall, one of the monks of Croxden, admitted by Abbot William Gunstone (1367), became subdeacon and deacon in September and Advent 1371; he became priest at Lent 1373. But John Blyth's promotion was much slower. He became subdeacon at the end of Lent 1373, deacon in Advent 1376, and priest at Lent 1385. John of Hychyngham became subdeacon in Lent 1376, and deacon a year later, but he had not been ordained priest when Bishop Stretton died in 1385.

The Croxden 'Chronicle' has some points of wider interest than the story of the remote and secluded Abbey. It records various incidents in the struggle of Henry III's reign, and tells us that the antiphon *Salve Regina* which the Pope ordered in 1239 was not adopted in Lichfield diocese till 1250. In 1274 Abbot Howton went to attend the general-chapter of the Order at Citeaux, but died at Dijon. In 1308 the Abbot refused to attend and was deposed. But of course most of the interest of the 'Chronicle' is local; we have already spoken of some of the details. We read of an unusually plentiful harvest in 1288, when sufficient carts could not be obtained; of an earth-

quake shock in 1301 which terrified the monks in their refectory ; and of the hanging of the first ' Bell of Collation ' in 1302. In 1313 the convent engaged Master Henry Michael of Lichfield to cast another to replace one which had been cracked : he laboured all the summer and then his casting failed, but he succeeded by All Saints' Day. In December 1330 there was a terrible storm which did much damage. The Abbey pool was made in 1336, but ten years later it burst.

Especial mention is of course made of the fortunes of the founder's family, and we can easily realize the dismay with which the monks saw the places of the pious and religious de Verduns taken by ' new men, strange faces, other minds.' In 1316 Sir Theobald de Verdun the younger died at Alton and was buried in the Abbey church ; and his wife Elizabeth, whom he had not long married, ' after his burial remained within the Abbey for a month and more.' Next March she bore a child to her departed husband. Alas ! it was a girl, and the chronicler sadly bemoans the fact that ' there is no male heir to the barony of Verdun.'¹ The eldest daughter and heiress of Theobald married in 1317 Sir Thomas Furnival, son of Sir Thomas Furnival of Sheffield and Worksop, and thus made him patron of Croxden. It was a marriage fraught with menace to the Abbey. The new Lord of Alton only saw that the lands at his gates, which his wife's ancestors had given to Croxden, were well cultivated and productive, without bearing in mind that it was the efforts of the monks themselves which had made them so. The sheep-runs at their Granges at Musden, Oaken, Crakemarsch, Cheadle, Cledere, Cauldon, and Onecote were valuable possessions, for the wool trade was the chief source of wealth in England at the time. Croxden produced some of the best wool in the country and did a brisk trade with Flemish and Florentine merchants. Not long before (in 1310), when Edward II led his army against Scotland, the Abbey had actually contributed more sheep (sixty) and oxen (twenty) than Burton Abbey, and as much oats (100 quarters). They

¹ Cf. *Salt Collections* (1911), p. 335.

also gave forty quarters of wheat. The demesne at Croxden they farmed themselves and also considerable portions of their lands at Musden, Cauldon, and Onecote, employing bailiffs and collectors of rents and tithes. They had water-mills at Alton, Cauldon, and Ellastone, though the first was expressly allowed by the original charter of foundation to be used also by the Alton tenants. The mill within their own grounds was worked by a well-arranged sluice diverted some distance higher up from the brook which ran through the Abbey precincts and also supplied two fish-ponds there. Within the precincts were also a bakery and a smithy.

The convent, like other mediaeval households, was mainly self-sufficing except for salt. Welcome as this was for flavouring purposes it was still more important as an absolute necessity of life. Owing to the absence of roots and other winter fodder, most of the cattle were killed and salted at Martinmas, and for the next six months the only flesh available for most people was salt beef and mutton. Consequently the possessions which Croxden had at Middlewich were especially useful, for salt could be purchased there from the salt-pan belonging to the Abbey of Dieulacres, and the constant stream of pack-horses carrying the precious commodity has left its mark in the name of Saltersford Lane, a pack-horse road still paved in places, which passes the Abbey and then leads, by way of Gallows Green and the Tithe Barn, to where it crossed the Churnet over Salters' Bridge, below Alton, only destroyed within living memory, and so went on to the other religious houses at Rocester, Calwich, and Dieulacres.

Woods were a profitable source of income and Croxden had many of them—at Great Yate, Cheadle, Oaken, 'Stanfort,' Crakemarsh, Ellastone, and elsewhere. The 'Chronicle' repeatedly mentions the burning of the woods, and such entries have often been interpreted as indicating disasters. But the reverse appears to be intended by such statements as the following: 1303, 'our wood of Lytwode was burnt at our Grange of Cheadle and yielded fifteen shillings a week'; 1309, 'our wood of Gibbe

Ruydinges was again burnt and sold as a whole on the spot for 26 marks'; 1316, 'the wood at Cheadle called le Neweshaye was burnt and yielded xv shillings a week—it began on Wednesday before the feast of S. Mark the Evangelist (April 25) and lasted to the Nativity of the Lord and yielded in all 22*l.* 5*s.*'; 1330, 'our woods of Gibbe Ruydinges, Neweheye and le Bromisyde were burnt and sold to R . . . de Holins for 30*l.*' The manufacture of charcoal was evidently another good source of income.

All this the new patron saw and envied, and he had no feelings of hereditary sympathy such as might have operated in the direct descendants of the founder, though even with them there had been friction in recent years.¹ Taking advantage of the embarrassment which a terrible murrain like the fifth plague of Egypt brought upon the convent in 1319, Satan raised up an adversary in the person of him who should have been their comfort. The new Lord of Alton asserted unheard-of claims. On the plea that there were fewer than fifty monks (there were, in fact, fewer than thirty) he argued that by the warrant of Genesis xviii. 26, 'he could lawfully smite the city.' 'He demanded a certain daily distribution of alms at the Gate, the keeping of his horses and hounds in any number he pleased, and the maintenance at table of seven of his bailiffs from Alton every Friday throughout the year in a special room set apart for their use.' There were further points in dispute about services. He seized one of the wagons, and kept it till it was released by the king's writ. He took 160 sheep from the Grange at Musden, and twenty oxen and thirty-two horses from Lees. He actually instituted a state of siege at the Abbey and threatened a direct assault, so that the monks had to barricade their northern gate for sixteen weeks and were obliged to slip out and in privately as best they could through a wicket which they made secretly in the wall on the southern side. Peace was only obtained by legal process. In spite of her husband's unfriendliness the monks gratefully remembered the debt they owed to the Verduns, and when the Lady Joanna died in October 1334

¹ *Salt Collections*, vi. pt. I. 223 (A.D. 1293).

at the early age of thirty years, they buried her among her ancestors with full honour. The date was the Sunday next after the Epiphany in the following year. Abbot Richard Sheepshed officiated, and the Abbots of Burton, Combermere, Dieulacres, Hulton, and Beauchef, with the priors of Worksop and Ecclesfield, assisted. The chronicler evidently feels that the occasion marked a distinct turning-point in the history of the house and was a pathetic breach with the past. He gives in detail the positions in the church where the earlier Verduns lay, and concludes with the prayer: 'All whose souls may He absolve Who not only created but redeemed them.' When Thomas died in 1339 the Abbot of Croxden buried him in the Abbey of Beauchef.

Abbot Sheepshed steered his Abbey with skill through difficult waters. He evidently made peace with his new patron; he did many repairs and built some new buildings, as we have already mentioned. But the closing years of his rule were unhappy. The exigencies of the French War led to arbitrary taxation. King Edward III in the year 1337 exacted 600 sacks of wool from Staffordshire, and was particularly stringent in seizing those which were due from the religious. And the price he fixed was nine marks a sack, which was far below the average price of the excellent Croxden wool which was twelve and thirteen marks. Our chronicler records that King Edward did not pay even the unfair price he had fixed.

The several visitations of the Black Death, already mentioned, followed, and brought difficulties of all kinds, some of which have been described. When Abbot Gunstone was appointed by the Commissioners from Aunay in 1367 he made valiant efforts to restore order and solvency. The mortgage on Cauldon Grange was discharged; the house at Oaken Grange was rebuilt and enlarged, a great repairing of ditches was taken in hand, and the house near Great Yate was begun. But ill-luck dogged his footsteps. Serious floods, storms, and severe weather followed in quick succession. The western building called 'Botelston' collapsed; and the dormitory, infirmary, and Abbot's chamber were unroofed by a storm which also overthrew

the tithe-barn at Spond (the name still survives) ; and all these had to be rebuilt or repaired. After standing two hundred years the church required attention, and the cloister had to be re-roofed ; and with the record of this work the 'Chronicle' comes to an end in 1374. The twenty-second Abbot, in the Fifteenth century, also had to do much work on the roofs, the cloister, the great barn, and the parlour.

The prosperous days of Croxden were past. All land-owners were beginning to feel the effects of the economic changes which were in progress, and laymen took to sheep-rearing and wool-producing, so that the monks no longer had a monopoly of the lucrative trade. The long strain of the Hundred Years' War began to tell. So early as 1302 attendance at Parliament began to be burdensome, and a declaration was obtained that the Abbey's lands were held in frankalmoign so that the Abbot might be relieved from Parliamentary duty. In 1398 leave was obtained to alienate the vicarage of Alton, and in 1405 to appoint one of the monks as vicar because the Abbey was 'greatly impoverished.' Increased claims on the monasteries were made by kings and patrons. The action of Sir Thomas Furnival and Edward III stood by no means alone. In 1379 Croxden had to 'lend' Richard II a hundred shillings. Corrodies were required with increasing regularity as the disbanded soldiers returned from France and had to be provided for. The presence of such men in religious communities can hardly have made for spirituality and discipline.

More and more the monasteries came to be looked upon as mere landowners, therefore drawing on themselves the unpopularity which such corporations inevitably attract. Disputes about boundaries had long been common, but in the Fifteenth century the history consists of little else than petty lawsuits with neighbours and tenants. In 1398 Abbot William Gunstone was fined, under the title of *Capellanus de Oaken*, at the Magna Curia of Wrothesley for allowing cattle to stray on the lands of Wrothesley Manor.¹ In 1474 Abbot

¹ *Ibid.* N.S. vi. pt. ii. 183.

John of Checkley-Walton, with Stephen York of Wyghton, one of his monks, and a gang of men and women, was sued for being concerned in breaking into Sir William Bassett's close at Musden and taking 300 sheaves of oats and twenty cartloads of hay to the value of twenty marks.¹

There were disputes with tenants too. In 1469 the same Abbot was sued for breaking into one of his tenants' closes, pasturing his cattle there by main force, and so threatening the man that through fear for his life he had relinquished the tenancy; and, on the other hand, Abbot John sued four husbandmen at Combridge for pasturing their cattle on his corn and grass.² There were more questionable matters also. Sir Laurence Fitton had enfeofed the Abbot of Croxden of twelve messuages, 200 acres of land and forty acres of meadow in Thorp, to the intent that his widow should enjoy the same after his decease: it was a mediaeval way of taking out a life insurance payable at death. But the widow failed to induce the Abbot to fulfil his obligation, and after repeated applications to him was obliged to petition the chancellor Bishop Neville.³ Such incidents hardly accord with the description of the scribe that Abbot John was 'a great peacemaker both among the rich and the poor.'

For the time the Government supported the monasteries as time-honoured parts of the body politic, but it valued them chiefly on account of their financial usefulness to itself. Kings always claimed to have a voice in the appointment of superiors, and during vacancies the temporalities were taken over and administered by royal officials. Elections required the royal assent as well as episcopal sanction, so that the proceedings were much more formal and protracted than appears from the simple narrative of the monastic chronicler. The Croxden 'Chronicle' relates that in 1329 Dan Richard of Ashby, the eleventh Abbot, 'on account of his manifest infirmity, voluntarily yielded up the burden of the prelacy on May 23, and on the morrow Dan Richard of Sheepshed was called to the said

¹ *Ibid.* N.S. iv. 192. ² *Ibid.* 152.

³ *Ibid.* N.S. vii. 256.

burden and honour like an Aaron called to it by God.' In 1367, when Abbot Alexander of Cubley was deposed, 'on the same day by the consent of the whole house Dan William of Gunstone was elected Abbot.' The monks of Croxden were employed as collectors of Convocation grants, but the Bishop of the Diocese had no right of visitation in Cistercian houses, and no visitation fees were paid to him by Croxden; yet it is interesting to find that it did not escape the activities of the Archdeacon and was compelled to pay his fees (1*l.* os. 6*d.* in 1535).¹ But no adequate supervision was exercised, and amid such circumstances the monasteries steadily slipped into general demoralization and decay, similar to that which marked society as a whole in the Fifteenth century. They lost a distinctly religious character. They became merely comfortable communities of country gentlemen, managing their estates in good, old-fashioned, unbusinesslike ways, by means of lay bailiffs, and seldom appearing in any very obviously spiritual aspect. The steward of the estates at Croxden, Ashbourne and Cauldon in 1535 was John Wistowe, gent., and there was also a bailiff of Ashbourne and Cauldon. There was a bailiff and rent-collector at Tugby and rent-collectors at Oaken and Croxden.² The finances of the monastery were therefore, to a considerable extent, 'public property' long before the Government instituted a formal inquiry into the extent and amount of them.

The weakening of their spiritual aspect is strikingly seen in regard to the tithes which the monasteries had obtained. To the people at large such tithes had long ceased to be ecclesiastical payments. They were collected by lay officials, who also often received the ordinary rents; no visible benefits accrued from them, for they went in most cases to the far-distant monastery; not seldom they were actually leased to laymen. Ready enough to take tithes, the monasteries were not equally ready to pay them: in 1290 the parish priest of Cheadle had to obtain the tithes due to him, from the grange which Croxden possessed

¹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in Hibbert, *Dissolution*, p. 71.

² *Ibid.* p. 99.

there, by main force.¹ Meanwhile voluntary offerings are not mentioned.

V

When the Sixteenth century arrived the religious houses were in a state of helplessness. The monastic system made no appeal to the conscience, though the Croxden scribe conventionally spoke of John Shipton, the twenty-fourth Abbot, as being 'good to the poor': it merely existed on sufferance as part of the recognized order of things. Englishmen fully recognized its decline, as is abundantly evidenced, but acquiesced in it as part of the ordinance of Nature: because it had existed so long it would continue to exist. Public opinion was too indifferent to be hostile. The walls which seemed so stable looked so only because they were viewed through the mists of traditional reverence. Those who wished well to the system, as did Sir John Fitzherbert of Norbury (*ob.* 1531), who left 10*l.* to Croxden for a trental of masses, let memories make hopes, and of the rest most thought antiquity meant eternity. It was like a forest tree which appears imposing enough, though the leaves and bark which look so picturesque are only the covering which hides decay. The roots are rotten and the trunk is hollow, and anon the sudden tempest breaks and topples down the whole in certain ruin.

How imposing a corporation even such a comparatively small convent as that of Croxden was, when the fatal storm began to whistle, may be seen from the details of its annual income at that time. The tithes from Alton produced 2*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, those from Tugby 4*l.*, and from Norton 2*l.* 10*s.* There was a payment of twelve pence annually from the parish of Cheadle, and rents came from places in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Cheshire, and London. The demesne at Croxden was worth 16*l.* a year; and certain lands at Musden Grange and at Cauldon and Onecote Granges 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and 7*l.* 10*s.* respectively. The revenue from ecclesiastical sources was

¹ *Salt Collections*, vi. pt. 1. 193.

8*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* and from secular sources 94*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*, making a total income of 103*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*, which of course was a considerable sum. Moreover the return from which the above figures have been taken does not represent the whole income, for after the Dissolution a good deal of further property, both 'spiritual' and 'temporal,' was discovered.¹ This included tithes worth 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from Musden, Calder, and Trussley, and from East Norton worth 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; a messuage and wood at Great Yate (worth 3*l.* 5*s.* annually); Crakemarth Grange (3*l.*); rents at Cauldon (3*l.* 7*s.*); Great Yate and Denstone (2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*) and Ellastone (4*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*); three messuages at Musden (3*l.* 12*s.*); income from Hunchedial (17*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*), and two water-mills.

Such property had long ceased to be sacrosanct. The intentions of the 'pious founder' were no longer held to be binding. The tendency was not even to ask if the monasteries were fulfilling the objects for which they had been founded, but rather, if they were needed at all. Long ago Henry V, loyal son of the Church though he was, had decided that the alien priories, at any rate, were needed less for ecclesiastical than for financial purposes, and Staffordshire had seen Lapley Priory pass into lay hands. Now the New Learning, in the person of the Bishop of Lichfield, William Smythe (1493-96), founder of Brasenose College, Oxford, claimed the Austin Priory at Lichfield for almshouses and a grammar school; in the person of Cardinal Wolsey, the Cluniac houses at Canwell and Sandwell for the endowments of Cardinal College (1529); and in the person of Geoffrey Blythe, Bishop of Lichfield, the nunnery at Fairwell (1527) for the support of the choristers at his cathedral.²

With such suggestive examples Henry VIII's chronic insolvency, due partly to his own extravagance but very largely to the general rise in prices which marked the period, inevitably led him to look to the monasteries for relief. The bureaucracy of the day realized that at all costs it must not burden the mass of the people; and, as

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v.

² For all these, see Hibbert, *Dissolution*, chap. ii.

is always the case with such methods of government, individuals and classes were sacrificed without compunction, while every care was taken that 'the man in the street' was not hit. Thus the 'Reformation' in England was at first less religious than economic in origin and nature. The elaborate and detailed investigation into the affairs of the religious houses, which was made in 1535 for the purpose of assessing the Tenths which had been transferred to the King, revealed their financial possibilities all too plainly. The commissioners did their work with thoroughness and despatch and, under the guidance of Bishop Roland Lee, the obsequious helpmate of Crumwell, the returns from Staffordshire were sent in to the Exchequer almost first of all. They shewed that Staffordshire alone would provide 1874*l.*, of which the Croxden share was 103*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*,¹ in actual annual revenue. This did not take into account the valuable sites, estates, possessions, buildings and contents; and by a bold stroke it was evident that an almost fabulous amount of wealth could be secured.

By the time the returns were made the King had formally taken over the Pope's authority, and a royal 'Reformer and Inquisitor' of the Cistercians began to exercise the powers.² In the Croxden returns his fee is entered as 13*s.* 4*d.* From this it was but a short step to appoint Crumwell Visitor General of all churches and monasteries. And the general attack on clerical privileges, which was carried on in the early years of the Reformation Parliament, was supported by irregular movements in detail. While the main army steadily advanced to the great assault, skirmishers made isolated captures. A few miles from Croxden, in the lovely valley of the winsome Dove, was the little Austin Priory of Calwich: this was quietly seized in 1532, even before the Papal authority was repudiated, and without any mention of the matter in Parliament. No feeling was aroused and no protest evoked: it was evidently regarded as a perfectly natural exercise of royal authority, and nothing could better shew the motive power which carried through the great act of spoliation that soon

¹ Hibbert, *Dissolution*, p. 64.

² *Ibid.* p. 50.

began. We have usually supposed that it was because the monasteries formed a sort of papal garrison in England that their suppression became a necessity, but evidently the real reason was a purely financial one. The suppression was the work of the Government, in essence on its own initiative, though carried out in the main by constitutional support and sanction, and always in accordance with public opinion.

The air was full of rumours of a wholesale confiscation of Church property, and the recent returns for the purpose of the Tenth suggested that at any rate the religious houses might be taken. The idea was promptly acted upon, and without much pretence at justification. The country as a whole looked on passively. The rupture with the Papacy made little change to the monasteries one way or the other, and the monks in general accepted the royal supremacy. The Government wanted money, and the spectacle of such an attractive and easy source of supply as the religious houses proved irresistible. That is the simple explanation of the matter.

Elsewhere in England there was usually a pretence at justifying the destruction of the monasteries by general allegations of abuses; but in Bishop Lee's diocese such a transparent device was superfluous. No accusations of anything were thought necessary in Staffordshire: it was sufficient that the Government wanted money and they could supply it. The Bill for the suppression of the lesser monasteries was introduced, based, as is often the case, upon the work of a Royal Commission (though this one was of characteristically Tudor type), and passed through its regular stages. In an age accustomed to arbitrary procedure, the dissolution of the monasteries was accomplished by methods which are refreshingly constitutional and comparatively regular. All the houses in Staffordshire came within the scope of the Act, except Burton-on-Trent and Tutbury; and Dudley Priory, as a dependent on Wenlock Abbey, also remained.

The commissioners for carrying out the provisions of the Act soon set to work, but Croxden, with most of the other

houses in the county, was able to purchase exemption. The payment was usually about the amount of a year's income: Croxden received its licence to continue on July 2, 1537, on payment of 100*l*. There is nothing in the document peculiar to Croxden.¹ It looks as though the commissioners went about armed with a supply of forms in general terms, with spaces for filling in the names, etc., of any of the houses they liked. The King's new title 'Supreme Head of the English Church' was accepted in these licences in its most offensive form and without the qualifying words in which it had been originally expressed.

It soon became evident that the licences to continue were so much waste paper. Cranmer wrote to Crumwell urging that Croxden should be suppressed in spite of its recent 'bribe': he pressed the claims of his servant Francis Bassett again and again. In a twelvemonth the monks at Croxden found, to their cost, that they might have saved the trouble and expense to which they had put themselves, and on September 28, 1538, the twelve brethren, with Thomas Challoner (or Chawner) the Abbot, signed the deed of surrender in the presence of Dr. Legh.² On October 15 the goods of the house were sold by John Scudamore.³ Bassett purchased the 'lytle gatehouse on the north syde of the comyn wey' for 13/4, as well as 'the loft under the organs (10/-), the lytle smythes forge (4/8),' and 'the roffe of the dorter' (33/4). He paid for the latter only. Two Checkley men bought 'the roffe of the Church' for 6*l*., and John Ferne 'all the old tymber in the cloyster' for 6/8. The total proceeds of the sale were only 9*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*.; but the lead was carried off by Scudamore, and so long afterwards as the reign of Mary he had failed to account for it. The monks were pensioned, though they did not always obtain payment without difficulty: deductions were made and delays were common. But care was taken that the lay officials should not suffer, and of course the bailiffs and stewards

¹ It is printed in full in Hibbert, *Dissolution*, p. 214.

² Printed in full in Hibbert, *Dissolution*, p. 220.

³ The details are given in Hibbert, *Dissolution*, p. 255.

usually continued in their old posts under the new owners. Bassett obtained the Grange at Musden.

The fate of the Abbey was characteristically sordid. The site was granted to a dissolute adventurer named Geoffrey Foljambe, whose son had to sell it and 'died a beggar in a barn'; and the road which had formerly skirted the precincts on the north and east now made a short cut from corner to corner right across the sanctuary. The church, deprived of the timber roof which had covered the nave, and dismantled of its contents, quickly fell to ruin. The other buildings, likewise disroofed and stripped, similarly went to pieces. Natural causes alone would have sufficed to destroy them speedily, but of course at Croxden, as elsewhere, they also became a handy quarry for building materials. In many a neighbouring cowshed and hay-loft moulded capitals and 'worked stones' are to be seen, and of the boundary wall only isolated sections, a few courses high, remain.

F. A. HIBBERT.

ART. IV.—DR. DuBOSE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

Turning Points in my Life. By W. P. DuBOSE, M.A., S.T.D. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1912.)

THE name of William Porcher DuBose has become familiar to all serious students of Christian theology. He has come to be acknowledged as one of the leaders of present-day religious thought, a writer of striking originality and fine insight, who has set himself the task of reconciling historic theology with modern ideas. The interest awakened by his books has been heightened by the recent publication of his autobiography under the title *Turning Points in my Life*—a story which combines episodes of thrilling adventure in the American Civil War with the record of quiet years of study in a remote but exceedingly interesting little

university. It is this element of contrast that impresses us most in reading Dr. DuBose's life. We cannot but feel that the battlefield has had as real a place as the library or the lecture-room in moulding the writer's character and thought. He has been made to face the grim realities of life and to think them out not in the philosophic ease of the arm-chair, but in the hardship and strenuous endeavour of a soldier's life. The atmosphere of the battlefield is still potent in Dr. DuBose's theology. There is the element of antagonism embedded in the substance of his thought. His style bears witness to the same hard schooling. No one could describe his mode of expression as lucid or easy. His words and sentences are very battles. He seems to work to his theological positions through the blinding smoke of an enemy's fire. Sometimes he reaches the height of his argument by what may seem a flanking movement and a circuitous route. But he never loses sight of his destination, and however winding the march of his thought may appear, we find him at last victorious and on the summit.

The two main factors which have gone to the making of Dr. DuBose's life-story are his experiences in the American Civil War and his association with the University of Sewanee: both factors are equally romantic in their diverse character.

Dr. DuBose had the training of a soldier. Four years of his educational life—from sixteen to twenty—had been spent at a military college. There he held the highest offices in his class. At the age of twenty he went to the University of Virginia, and at twenty-three he entered a theological seminary. But in the middle of his training for the ministry an unexpected crisis arrived which proved one of the 'turning points' in his life.

'Soon after the breaking out of the war in 1861 the Governor of South Carolina called for the organization, for State defence, the protection of our coast line and railroad connexions, of a command to which he gave the name of the Holcombe Legion I was appointed adjutant. The appointment found me in the middle of my seminary course; I accepted it, and

spent the following fall and winter in hard drill and discipline, in skirmishing with gunboats, and in the occasional more romantic experiences of camp life.' ¹

Dr. DuBose fought in many engagements under the great leader of the South, General Lee. In one of these he was wounded, though not disabled, by a fragment from a shrapnel shell. Soon followed the terrible battle of Second Bull Run, which resulted in a victory for the South.

'It was a great victory,' writes Dr. DuBose, 'but a bloody one, and our own brigade was well nigh destroyed. My horse was shot, I was twice wounded, and I was the only field officer of the legion who was left or able to fight through the battle. It devolved upon me to re-organize the shattered regiment and to command it in the first Maryland invasion.' ²

One episode of Dr. DuBose's warfare must be quoted. The Confederate army had been opposing General McClellan's passage across South Mountain.

'Our own command had had a fatiguing march of sixteen miles, had climbed the mountain on the north side, had fought and been forced back into the gap, and at about 9 P.M. had sunk dead with sleep in their tracks upon the turnpike. Out of this condition I was aroused by the command to take my most available men and to connect with and extend the picket line on the side of the mountain on which we had fought. This was no easy task on a dark night in the primeval forest, and it must have been toward midnight before it was accomplished. I had just spread my oil-cloth at the centre of the line and was wondering how I, or any of us, could manage to keep awake when another order came: it was thought that the mountain above us was abandoned and the enemy withdrawn, and it was necessary to ascertain his movements. I was to ascend to the spot of the afternoon's engagement, discover, and report. It was a heavy and, unavoidably, a noisy as well as dangerous climb; and at the steepest point near the summit I left the men in position to obey any summons and proceeded alone. Upon the plateau on top I lightly and swiftly pushed my reconnaissance to the farthest limit, and seeing and hearing nothing, was in the act of returning satisfied that there was no one there

¹ P. 33.

² P. 34.

when it came to me that, to be perfectly certain, I ought to make a detour round the plateau. In this way it came about that I quite encircled a division of troops and walked straight into their lines. Walking back, in half security but very quietly and cautiously, with pistol in hand, I was suddenly brought up with a "Halt!" I could not be sure that it was not some of my own men come to meet me, nor they that I was not one of theirs—and so it was that we were actually upon each other before we mutually recognized each other as enemies: I had come upon a sentry of two men in the midst of a bivouac, and the woods were as sunk in sleep and stillness as if there was no life in them. A man stood before me with the butt of his gun on the ground. As he jerked up his gun I stepped quite up to him and drew the pistol which I had held cocked under a light cloak. In the act of both doing this and protecting myself from him, my pistol was discharged prematurely, and he, thinking he was shot, cried aloud and precipitated himself upon me. In an instant the mountain top was awake and alive, and I was upon the ground in the midst, in a desperate struggle for escape. The odds were against me, and I landed not many days later a prisoner in Fort Delaware.’¹

This midnight adventure had an interesting sequel many years afterwards when Dr. DuBose was able to secure for his assailant an army pension as a veteran of the Civil War. It was an ideal sequel to that unfriendly introduction when thirty-five years later the two antagonists smoked the pipe of peace together and endeavoured to explain by what mysterious Providence they had failed to take away each other’s lives.

After three months’ imprisonment Dr. DuBose rejoined his command, ‘just in good time,’ as he says,

‘to be dangerously and painfully wounded in an engagement near the town of Kingston. . . . Within those four months death had three times touched me as closely as was consistent with escape; two of my wounds missed most vital parts by the merest hair’s breadth. On my return to Richmond from prison I was personally informed that I was dead, and, on questioning it, was taken to a reading-room and shown my obituary as corroboration.’²

¹ Pp. 35 ff.

² P. 38.

It was hardly to be expected that theological study could be prosecuted amid such distraction ; yet Dr. DuBose managed to carry with him a few well tried companions of the inward life—a Greek New Testament, Tennyson's Poems, Pascal's 'Thoughts,' and Xenophon's 'Memorabilia.' 'I secured,' he writes, 'an air-tight and very strong little ammunition box, which just held my books, and which, becoming well known, was always tossed into the headquarters' wagon.' It was during this period that he gradually grew to know the 'intensely human and real St. Paul.'

'The epistle to the Romans was really my constant *pièce de résistance*. Without present or previous help of dictionary, commentary, or any other source, I set myself over and over to think and live out the thought-and-life-process of that wonderful argument. I can distinctly remember lying on my back, while my men were constructing earthworks, and with closed eyes constructing for myself the vital spiritual sequence, unity, and completeness of the first eight chapters.'¹

Another valued companion of his vigils and marches was a volume of Tennyson's Poems. Dr. DuBose confesses that his early devotion to Tennyson was partly due to the fact that the 'little blue and gold copy which went with me into and came with me out of the war, was the gift in camp of one who, after the worst of perils narrated above, became my wife.'² This very unusual adjutant tells us how 'many a day, with a leg crossed over the pommel of my saddle, as we wound our slow and romantic way through the mountains of Virginia, I drank in the music and sentiment of the "Songs," or pondered over the mysteries and questionings of "In Memoriam." ' Tennyson became one of the inspirations of Dr. DuBose's life.

These war experiences have left a permanent mark on Dr. DuBose's character and thought. He acquired, as he says, 'the habit of combining thought with life and experience.' Another characteristic, which is to a large extent a legacy of battlefield and bivouac, is his habit of

¹ P. 46.² P. 42.

working out problems by his own unaided solitary thought. What was first forced upon him by necessity was finally accepted by choice. We are not surprised when he discloses his method of study—'I can never use a commentary, or seek a help of any kind, until I thoroughly need and want it—that is, until I have done all that I possibly can with the matter myself. I even try too much to be my own dictionary and grammar.' Such methods of solitary study may account for Dr. DuBose's occasional obscurity, but they also shew us the secret of his originality.

If the Civil War enriched Dr. DuBose's experience, it utterly impoverished him in the matter of worldly goods. He turned to the work of his ministerial vocation, and spent six years in parish life.

Then there came the call which proved the second great 'turning point' of his life. At the age of twenty-nine he was called to undertake the development of a projected Theological Department at the newly founded University of the South at Sewanee. The subsequent life of Dr. DuBose is merged in the life of Sewanee.

An American university is not, as a rule, cradled in romance. It is usually a ready-made article, called into being by the decree of a State or else owing its existence to a single stroke of the pen of some munificent millionaire. It does not grow; it is simply manufactured. It leaps forth complete from the pocket of some rich man or it is created out of the overflowings of a State Exchequer. It is born with a golden spoon in its mouth. There is no romance about its early struggles, no mystery about the secrets of its success. Its history can be written in dollars.

There are, however, notable exceptions to this generalization. The little university at Sewanee in the southern mountains of Tennessee has been cradled in something more ethereal than dollar bills. It is called the University of the South, and its existence is a triumph of faith and loyalty and idealism. Bigness is not greatness. Sewanee is not big. It has only a couple of hundred students: but it has undoubtedly a great spirit in its little body. It has no millionaires behind it, but it has a wealth of passionate

loyalty and self-sacrifice at its disposal which no dollars could purchase. In this mountain retreat there lives on still the spirit of the old South, purified and refined through years of sorrow and desolation. The University was planned a few years before the Civil War broke out. In 1857 a liberal charter was secured by Bishop Polk from the State of Tennessee, title was acquired to a domain of nearly ten thousand acres of land on the top of Sewanee Mountain. The corner-stone of a central college building was laid. Pledges of an endowment amounting to half a million dollars were obtained. The title of the institution was to be 'The University of the South.' Though it was under the influence of the Episcopal Church, its doors were to be open to members of all religious bodies. It was a fine and noble conception, well worthy of realization. But before the University was built the Civil War broke out. Bishop Polk, the founder of Sewanee, took up arms for the South and died on the battlefield, the last of 'the fighting bishops.' The soldiers of both armies, marching over the mountains and encamping about the site of the university, amused themselves by blowing up the corner-stone and making out of the fragments trinkets for their sweethearts. That seemed the end of Sewanee. When the war was over, the South, crippled and broken, had to struggle through those dreadful years of reconstruction. The South had no money and not many men. It was a period of black despair. Yet the hope of Sewanee lived through these fearful days. Though there was nothing of the university now in existence except the shattered corner-stone the project was still alive in the hearts of a few brave and faithful men. In 1866 Bishop Quintard took up the scheme with vigour and enthusiasm. With a few friends he visited Sewanee, and found shelter in a log cabin. The next morning he selected sites for the buildings of the university. In the evening he erected a rustic cross, about twelve feet high, on the site chosen for a chapel. Gathered round the cross with the Bishop and his companions were a few mountaineers and some negro workmen. The Nicene Creed was recited and the Bishop knelt down and prayed

for strength and guidance. Then the woods rang with the strains of 'Gloria in Excelsis.' 'It was a scene worthy of association with those of the Sixteenth century, where discoverers and Conquistadores pre-empted new lands by planting a cross and claiming the territory for their king and their church.'¹

Those who were the first to gather at Sewanee after the war were soldiers of the Confederate Army and their families. Here were widows of those who had fallen; they had come to educate their sons in an atmosphere where the old Southern traditions were still potent.

'They had just come through a terrible war: they were accustomed to suffer, to endure; they were survivors of a "Lost Cause"; their eyes had been washed to clear-sightedness with tears; their hearts were hungry for something for which they could work, could fight, if need be, die; they were dying for want of a hope and they found it in the University of the South. Still something to be done for their dear South! They looked out to the future, and saw the vision of the things that now are—"The towered city set within a wood"—and for this vision they bore smilingly the burden and heat of the day . . . but of life comes life, and the life of Sewanee is the flower, the fruit, of many lives.'²

In the early days the University buildings were mere shacks. It was the boast of the University of the South that 'it had been built on men, not on things.'

Though there are now beautiful buildings the University is still poor. It lives through the passionate devotion and loyalty of its sons. Many of its lecturers have given their services almost for nothing, and have refused tempting offers of lucrative work elsewhere.

The spirit of poetry which hangs over the history of Sewanee is reinforced by its wonderful situation. It is set on a spur of the Cumberland mountains—a plateau some two thousand feet above sea-level. There is a wonderful

¹ *Memoirs of Bishop Quintard*, by Rev. A. H. Noll (Sewanee University Press, 1905).

² 'Sewanee' in *Bulletin of the University of the South* (Nov. 1908), by Miss S. B. Elliott.

succession of glorious views as one climbs the mountain by the little railway which winds round and round the shoulders of the hills and sometimes seems to be standing bolt upright in its steep ascent. The mountain is thickly wooded, and one catches these wonderful glimpses of the valley below only through the lattice-work of luxuriant foliage. The scenery is of unparalleled grandeur—dense forests, cliffs, ravines and caves. The climate is superb, the air fine and clear. At length the little engine reaches the quaint station of Sewanee by dint of much puffing and many a stiff pull. One expects to find backwoodsmen and bush-rangers in such haunts as these, far away from any centre of trade or population. What then is one's surprise to find young men strolling about in college caps! It seems like a fragment of Oxford which has been spirited away to the other end of the world. Here on the top of the mountain and in the heart of the woods has sprung up a beautiful little group of University buildings, dotted here and there among the trees. Strips of virgin forest still run up among these halls of learning. The buildings are indeed very charming and graceful, and they nestle in among the trees in most picturesque fashion. The stone of which the buildings are constructed is a local sandstone of a beautiful pink and buff colour, and the architecture shews a style and taste that one does not often meet in America. The Breslin tower with its Westminster chimes is justly regarded as the pride and glory of Sewanee. What strikes one most in the general effect is the charming way in which nature and civilization seem to blend. The buildings harmonize perfectly with their surroundings, and the ancient forest, so far from resenting the presence of these strange interlopers in its domain, winds its arms around them in the most loving way. The masonry vies with the foliage in its warmth of autumn tints. The buildings do not stand up in a row with painful regularity and with the look of being brand-new and made to order. They only unfold themselves one by one as we wind along the avenues and pierce through the clumps of surrounding trees. There is the charm of perpetual surprise as one threads one's way through the

devious paths of Sewanee. The homes of the residents seem also to fit into the picture with perfect harmony. They are usually built of wood with broad verandahs and pillars in the picturesque Colonial fashion. All round are the woods, pierced here and there by wagon paths, but still full of mystery and silence.

I can recall Sewanee, as I watched it from the verandah of a charming house, sleeping in the moonlight, the deep silence of the encompassing woods broken only by the far-away chorus of some belated students. The noise of the crickets in the grass, though it was astonishingly loud, ceased by degrees to be audible; it became a soothing lullaby and was lost in the all-pervading stillness of the night. It was all so perfect that only the buzz of a prowling mosquito could make one believe that one was not in Paradise.

There was another drawback to the charm of Sewanee, which came upon me as a sudden and painful surprise. I was walking with a companion along one of the best frequented avenues in Sewanee, when my friend suddenly clutched me by the arm and pulled me back, and there, within a few inches of my foot, basking in the sunshine and coiled in the middle of the path, lay a deadly copper-head snake. Had I not been prevented, I should have taken my next step on the brute's tail, in which case it would have instantly struck; and the copper-head has enough venom to poison a whole family. It is sad to think that even Paradise must have its serpent, or at any rate its snake. The antidote to the copper-head's bite is whisky. It is not surprising that many of the mountaineers inoculate themselves rather lavishly by way of precaution. There are many rattlesnakes in the woods close by, but the hogs which run more or less wild there manage to keep down their number. The hog enjoys immunity from the poison of the rattlesnake.

The remoteness of Sewanee is often made a ground of objection to its claims as a University. It is four or five hours' train-journey from Nashville, the nearest large town. But it may well be replied that Sewanee's remoteness is

one of its virtues. It is surely a wholesome thing for the strenuous youth of America to have the benefit of a few years' detachment from the busy whirl and noise of a great city. No real education can be carried on amid the distractions of American city-life, the incessant roar of traffic, the clanging of the builder's hammer, the rumbling of innumerable wheels, the confusion and bustle and din. The University of the South deliberately chose to go out into the wilderness and create its own environment.

The University is small. It has been obliged to give up its Medical School for lack of the necessary access to hospitals. The Law School is also suspended at present.

Sewanee is professedly a religious institution, and it may be said to be more or less denominational. Attendance at Chapel is obligatory, and the services are conducted according to the use of the Episcopal Church. The Divinity School is exceptionally strong ; and Sewanee has given many men of light and leading to the religious life of America. Dr. DuBose has been for thirty-six years one of the professors. An English University man would find himself much more at home in Sewanee than at most other American universities. The cap and gown are generally worn. The aims of the University are rather those of English culture than of American utilitarianism.

Sewanee embodies a definite ideal of character and life. It is the ideal of the old South chastened and purified through long years of suffering and hardship. Many of the professors at Sewanee in the early days had fought as officers in the army of the South. Dr. DuBose, as we have seen, went right through the Civil War, as an officer. General Lee, the leader of the Southern army, was asked to become vice-chancellor of the University, but thought it best not to undertake the office. There is still a military note in the life of Sewanee which keeps at bay the rampant commercialism of American life and imparts a certain picturesqueness and chivalry to its social atmosphere. In Sewanee one can still feel in touch with that fine spirit which in the days before the war gave such a charm to the social life of the South, and during the war poured itself forth in such

passionate self-sacrifice and loyalty for a losing side. The ideal of Sewanee is definitely religious. It is pervaded by a Church atmosphere of a broad and kindly type. There is no ecclesiasticism. The tradition approximates to the best kind of Anglican. The leaders of the Southern army were, most of them, devout men, as the memoirs of Bishop Quintard amply prove, and the University which some of them founded maintains these religious traditions in a form exceptionally attractive and persuasive.

The social life of Sewanee is quite idyllic. While there is an air of general culture and refinement, there is also free vent for spontaneity and perfect naturalness. There are, I was assured, no cliques and coteries such as one might expect to find in a small University town. There is a charming ease and simplicity in all the social relationships. Everybody knows everybody else. The old hospitality of the South survives in the open doors of the Sewanee residents. People call on one another without formality, and at night one may see the lanterns of the numerous guests flitting like fireflies through the trees. Everyone in Sewanee carries a lantern at night, as the paths are shadowy and uncertain when they cross the patches of wood. There is no town corporation to look after the roads and the lights. A band of public-spirited ladies seem to be chiefly responsible for the management of this department. The people of Sewanee are profoundly attached to English traditions and memories, and the welcome which they give an English visitor is something worth going several thousand miles to receive.

Sewanee, small though it is, represents a fine ideal and it has had remarkable success, considering its size. 'Nowhere in the South,' said Charles Dudley Warner, in 1889, 'and I might say, nowhere in America have I found anything so hopeful as the University of the South.' He added :

'I have been travelling through the South and South-west, and whenever, being struck by the manner and bearing of a young man, I asked where the said young man had been educated, the answer was invariably—"Sewanee"; and so I

determined to come to the place where it seemed to me there must be some kind of mill for the manufacture of gentlemen.'

Among the alumni of Sewanee, it may be remarked, is the name of the late Major Archibald Butt, Aide-de-Camp to the President, who shewed such conspicuous heroism on the sinking *Titanic*. The place lays a spell on most people who visit it. Those who leave it invariably want to return. There is a well at Sewanee, and they say that whoever drinks of it and goes his way must at length, however far he has wandered, turn his steps back to this little town on the top of the mountain. He cannot resist the call of Sewanee.

As to Dr. DuBose's share in the making of Sewanee the circumstances which have led to the publishing of his latest book will speak eloquently. In the first week of August 1911 a remarkable reunion took place at Sewanee of those who had been his students during the thirty-six years of his active connexion with the University of the South. The addresses which Dr. DuBose gave on that occasion form the contents of his book, 'Turning Points in my Life.' The secret of his influence among successive generations at Sewanee may be guessed from a sentence in his introductory address: 'From those early days I became in many instances the intimate personal friend of many of my students, their confidant in love, their counsellor in difficulty or trouble, their companion, as far as presence and sympathy could go, in amusement or play.'

Even a comparative stranger can testify to this wealth of sympathy, this eager spirit of companionship. No one can spend an hour in the company of Dr. DuBose without becoming one of his disciples. His childlike joy in all the simple and wholesome things of life, his whole-hearted comradeship with the rawest undergraduate, the unflagging vivacity which finds words too slow and clumsy a medium of expression and seeks to assist speech with the rapid gesture and the kindling eye—such are the most vivid impressions of Dr. DuBose which are left in the mind of a delighted pilgrim to Sewanee.

JOHN SPENCE JOHNSTON.

ART. V.—ST. BASIL AND MONASTICISM.

1. *Étude littéraire sur Saint Basile.* Par EUGÈNE FIALON. (Paris : Auguste Durand. 1861.)
2. *St. Basil the Great.* By R. T. SMITH. 'The Fathers for English Readers.' (London : S.P.C.K. 1879.)
3. *St. Basile le Grand, ses œuvres oratoires et ascétiques.* Par l'Abbé VASSON. (Paris : Tolra. 1894.)
4. *St. Basil : Letters and Select Works.* By BLOMFIELD JACKSON. 'Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.' Second Series, Vol. VIII. (Oxford : James Parker and Co. 1895.)
5. *Saint Basile.* Par PAUL ALLARD. Cinquième édition. 'Les Saints.' (Paris : V. Lecoffre. 1903.)
6. *Les Moines d'Orient, antérieurs au Concile de Chalcédoine.* Par J. M. BESSE. (Paris : H. Oudin. 1900.)
7. *Die Ascetik in ihrer dogmatischen Grundlage bei Basilios dem Grossen.* Von A. KRANICH. (Paderborn : F. Schöningh. 1896.)
8. *Askese und Mönchtum.* Von OTTO ZÖCKLER. (Frankfurt a.M. : Heyder und Zimmer. 1897.)
9. *L'Église et l'Empire Romain au IV^e Siècle.* Par ALBERT DE BROGLIE. Quatrième édition. Vol. V. (Paris : Perrin et Cie. 1897.)
10. *The Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism.* By J.O. HANNAY. (London : Methuen and Co. 1903.)

THERE is but slight apology needed for choosing as a subject for investigation a chapter in the history of monasticism. It may seem, no doubt, as if monastic and ascetic ideals could have very little interest for a time such as ours, which is characterized in no small degree by a devotion to material well-being and a prominent display of luxury. But our very remoteness from such ideals makes us, perhaps, all the more curious to see what attraction they can have had for those men and women who lived by them, and to

inquire whether they may not have some value for the world of to-day.

We might not unreasonably expect that monasticism with its constant ideals of devotion to God, and sacrifice of self would have little or nothing of historical interest to record. Yet as a matter of fact we do find a long and interesting history, not indeed of its ideals, but of their application.¹ And in that history there are certain persons who stand out as pre-eminent, not least of whom is St. Basil the Great,² Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the Fourth century of our era.

Monasticism was no new thing in the time of Basil. Although it had as yet received no official recognition or regulation, it was rapidly becoming a factor with which both Church and State must reckon.³ The movement which had at first been merely a local phenomenon, due very largely to local circumstances, shewed every prospect of becoming universal. The teaching of Origen, and the example of the Fathers of the Desert, were inspiring emulation in other lands than Egypt. Basil tells us in his Letters ⁴ how he had seen and admired the monks, not only of Alexandria and Egypt, but also of Palestine, Coele Syria, and Mesopotamia. The movement was also making itself felt in Cappadocia and, on its first appearance, caused Basil the greatest satisfaction. It was all-important, however, to see what form the movement would assume. There were bad as well as good monks in Egypt, and Basil has to acknowledge that with regard to Eustathius and his followers, who were the first to introduce

¹ Cf. Harnack, *Monasticism, its Ideals and History*, E.T., pp. 11-14.

² He is the only Father of the Eastern Church to whom the title Great has been given. Cf. Theodoret, *Ep.* cxlvi., 'the great Basil, luminary of the Cappadocians, or rather of the world'; *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 16, 'the great Basil, a light of the world.'

³ Cf. the decrees of the Synod of Gangra (c. 340, according to Duchesne), 'occasioned by the proud hyper-asceticism of Eustathius and his followers.' Hefele, *History of the Church Councils*, ii. p. 336.

⁴ *Ep.* ccvii. 2, and ccxxiii. 2, 'I called these men's lives blessed . . . and I prayed that I, too, as far as in me lay, might imitate them.'

the monastic life into Asia Minor, he had been misled, and that he had mistaken the cowl for the monk. 'I held,' he says, 'lowliness of dress to be a sufficient indication of lowliness of spirit; and there was enough to convince me in the coarse cloak, the girdle, and the shoes of untanned hide.'¹ Monasticism required regulation and proper surveillance, if it was to be of any real benefit to the Christian Church.

It was Basil who undertook this task for Cappadocia,² and in so doing eventually became the Father of Eastern Monasticism.³ How and in what spirit he accomplished his task we have now to consider, giving emphasis to what seem to be the most salient features in his scheme.

When, at the instigation of his sister Macrina and his friend Gregory, Basil turned his thoughts to the monastic life, he was called upon to renounce very great worldly blessings. Riches, lands, family position, and a considerable reputation for learning, were all given up. But such a surrender had a very special value. So great an example of self-denial would inevitably bring monasticism into further notice and repute, while the gifted life thus dedicated could not be wasted even in the solitude of Annesi. In fact Basil proved himself to be just such a man as the monastic movement then needed. Both from his travels and his own experience he had a wide knowledge of his subject, his intellect enabled him to grasp its doctrinal implications, his judgement kept his enthusiasm from extravagances, and his authority in later days as a prominent ecclesiastic⁴ gave to the principles which he had asserted as a layman a most valuable sanction.

¹ *Ep.* ccxxiii. 3.

² *Cf.* Rufinus, *Eccl. Hist.*, xi. 9. 'Basilus Ponti urbes et rura circumiens. . . Ita brevi permutata est totius provinciae facies.'

³ *Cf.* Adeney, *Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 158. 'The last stage in the development of Eastern monasticism is due to the statesmanlike wisdom and energy of the great Basil, who may be regarded as the Benedict of the Oriental Church.'

⁴ On the influential position of the bishops in the East at this time *cf.* Allard, *Julien l'Apostat*, i. pp. 113 ff.

With regard to Basil's monastic regulations the most noticeable feature is their informal character. There is no definite rule, such as was drawn up for the West by Benedict in after years. Neither the *Regulae fusius tractatae* nor the *Regulae brevius tractatae*, though in the form of question and answer, have even enough cohesion to be rightly called monastic catechisms.¹ They have no more order than a series of 'Answers to Correspondents' in a modern newspaper. Neither collection contains laws for a cloister life, but only general instructions and suggestions as to the right behaviour of communities whose existence is presupposed. It is not difficult, however, to extract from them an outline of their author's monastic ideas, though it would be impossible by their aid alone to reconstruct the actual Basilian community. But it remains a matter for regret that they were not presented in a more attractive form. In later days they were supplemented by the 'Constitutions' of Theodore the Studite.

In any consideration of monasticism we have to take into account the influence of two main factors—namely, mysticism, or the craving of the soul for union with God; and asceticism, or the desire for a purification of the soul by renunciation and self-denial. The relationship of these

¹ As by Zöckler, in his *Askese und Mönchtum*, i. pp. 287 f. 'Katechismen mönchischer Tugend- und Pflichtenlehre wurde vielleicht die richtigste Bezeichnung für beide Quästionensammlungen sein.'

With regard to the authenticity of the various *Ascetica* attributed to Basil there has been much discussion. The *Regulae* are universally allowed to be genuine, though they may have been edited. The *Constitutiones Monasticae* cannot have been written by Basil, and it is very doubtful whether Garnier is right in assigning them to Eustathius. Of the other writings, the *Moralia*, the *De Fide*, and the *De Iudicio Dei* are almost certainly the work of Basil, while the *De Renuntiatione Saeculi* and the *De Ascetica Disciplina* may very well be genuine. They are all five Basilian in tone, and a reading of them by the present writer for the purposes of lexicography (the *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*, which is in preparation under the auspices of the Central Society for Sacred Study) would seem to shew that they are also Basilian in language. The two short *Sermones Asceticae* and the *Praevia Institutio* cannot possibly be assigned to Basil.

two factors must very largely determine the character of any monastic endeavour, and it is therefore of great importance to see what position each of them occupies in Basil's recommendations for the monastic life.

As we read Basil's writings, it becomes obvious that, for him at least, asceticism is a means and not an end, and that the aim of the true Christian is union with God.¹ For the fulfilment of such an aim asceticism is necessary: the eye must be fixed upon the mark, and turned away from all else.² The scriptural analogies of the athlete and the soldier are adduced to emphasize this idea.³ But the degree of asceticism to be practised must be such as will further, and not hinder, the great end in view. The monastic life is valuable, not primarily because of its renunciation,⁴ but because such renunciation allows of greater concentration upon the attainment of real blessedness.

It is in fact the mystical element which predominates in Basil's treatment of the monastic ideal. The love of God, involving also the love of our neighbour,⁵ is to be the chief motive of the Christian life, whether in the cloister or in the world. God as our Creator, Sustainer, and Benefactor, demands the love of His creation.⁶ Further, as the Good, He is the object of all desire.⁷ The recognition of this fact results in worship, prayer, and the unreserved surrender of man to God as his goal and end.⁸ Union with God is thus

¹ Cf. *Reg. Fus.* ii. 1. Ἐδίψησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἰσχυρὸν τὸν ζῶντα (Ps. xli. 3).

² *Ib.* iv. 3. τὸ θέλημα τοῦ προστάξαντος ὥσπερ σκόπον προτιθεμένων *ib.* viii. 2. All else must be sacrificed for the Pearl of great price (*St. Matt.* xiii. 45, 46).

³ *De Ren. Saec.* 3. Ἀθλητικῷ νόμῳ δεῖ σε πολιτεύεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ οὐ στεφανοῦσθαι—(2 Tim. ii. 5). *Reg. Fus.* xvi. 1, xviii. 1. πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος, πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται (1 Cor. ix. 25). *De Ren. Saec.* 2. τῶν ἀγίων μαθητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ συστρατιώτης, etc.

⁴ *Reg. Brev.* cxxviii. condemns mere abstinence for its own sake as ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου κατηγορουμένη ἀφειδία σώματος (*Col.* ii. 23). Cf. also *Reg. Fus.* xviii.-xix. and *Reg. Brev.* cxxxix.

⁵ *Reg. Fus.* ii., iii.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 2. *Brev.* ccxii.

⁷ *Reg. Fus.* ii. 1. ἀγαθοῦ δὲ πάντα ἐφίεται. Θεοῦ ἄρα πάντα ἐφίεται.

⁸ Cf. *Ep.* ccxxxv. 1.

the highest point in Christian 'asceticism' to which, in the language of later ascetic writers, purification and illumination are the preliminary stages. The joy of union is to be attained in its fulness only in heaven, and Basil is not afraid to describe the heavenly blessedness in the most glowing colours.¹ But the chief joy of heaven will be 'the beholding face to face.'²

Other motives beside love may enter in,³ such as the 'fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom,' or the desire of reward for labour in the vineyard; but such motives, though they have their use, are really either slavish or mercenary: the true filial disposition is that of love. The love of God as our aim and end is the one true inspiration for the life of virtue.⁴

It is sin which separates and divides us from God. But Christ has redeemed us from the power of sin, and has given us the gift of grace.⁵ It is therefore the duty of the true Christian, by the grace and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, to vanquish and subdue all that hinders his approach to God. Thus the Christian life, though its aim is the Divine peace, is a continual conflict for which we need all the weapons at our disposal. And in particular the monastic life, though providing 'rest and peace for the keeping of the Gospel decrees,'⁶ gives victory only as the reward of a series of sharp conflicts.⁷ Perfection is to be the only standard for the monk, who is 'not to neglect even the smallest of such things as have been commanded.'⁸

In this connexion it is important to realize that Basil represents the difference between the monk and the ordinary Christian as one of degree rather than of kind. There is to be no double system of ethics. No doubt the monk, in

¹ Cf. *Reg. Fus.* ii. 4, *De Asc. Disc.* 2, etc.

² ἐμφανισμὸς προσώπου πρὸς πρόσωπον, *De Asc. Disc.* 2.

³ *Reg. Fus.* Prooem. 3. ὅλως δὲ τρεῖς ταύτας ἐγὼ διαφορὰς τῆς διαθέσεως πρὸς τὴν ἀπαραίτητον ἀνάγκην τῆς ὑπακοῆς καθορῶ.

⁴ *Reg. Fus.* ii. 1. Εἰδέναι μέντοι χρὴ, ὅτι τοῦτο (sc. ἡ ἀγάπη) ἐν μέν ἐστι τὸ κατόρθωμ'· δυνάμει δὲ πάσης ἐνεργητικὸν καὶ περιεκτικὸν ἐστὶν ἐντολῆς.

⁵ Cf. *Mor.* xxii. 1, x. 2, *Reg. Fus.* ii. 2, *Hom. in Ps.* xlviii. 8.

⁶ *De Ren. Saec.* 2. τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν δογμάτων ἀκίνδυνος ἀργία.

⁷ *Ib.* 2, 3. ⁸ *Ib.* 3.

virtue of his vocation and environment, is able to attain to a greater and more complete sanctity than his brethren of the world, but the principles by which he is to be guided have their obligation also for the secular Christian. 'All men must give account of their obedience to the Gospel, whether they be monks, or whether they be married.'¹ 'This is the goal of Christianity, the imitation of Christ in the measure of His humanity, as far as the vocation of each man permits.'²

Thus Basil is not content merely to enunciate certain principles for the guidance of his monks: he endeavours also to exhibit monasticism in its proper setting. He shews that the monastic ideal is not foreign to the spirit of Christianity, that its life is no narrow sectarian Puritanism,³ and that its faith is the one true, orthodox faith of Catholic Christendom.

It is noticeable how very careful Basil is to maintain that right conduct depends upon a right faith.⁴ His own experiences as a champion of Nicene orthodoxy had shewn him the necessity of sound doctrine, and he dreaded lest the monastic movement should be associated with any of the heresies of the day.⁵ He wished the monastery to be a place where the faith was both believed and carried out. 'Faith operative through love' may be said to be the text of all Basil's monastic admonitions.⁶ 'The soundness of our faith and the true manner of life' are inseparable, for

¹ *Ib.* 2, quoting St. Mark xiii. 37, Ἄ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, πάνσι λέγω.

² *Reg. Fus.* xliii. Οὗτος ὁρος Χριστιανισμοῦ, μίμησις Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως, κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῇ ἐκάστου κλήσει.

³ It is sometimes maintained that monasticism is a lineal descendant of Montanism. Cf. A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, pp. 141 f. Harnack, *Monasticism*, p. 30, criticizes this view, and it is to be noticed that in Basil's writings there is nowhere any thought either of giving any new revelation, or of abandoning the Church. Nor is the monk regarded as a 'pneumatic.' *Reg. Brev.* cclix, expressly says that spiritual fervour consists in the faithful keeping of God's commandments.

⁴ He prefixes the *De Fide* to his *Moralia*.

⁵ Cf. *Reg. Brev.* xx., *De Fide*, 5.

⁶ *Mor.* lxxx. 22, *De Jud.* ad fin., *Ep.* ccxcv.

'from these two things the man of God is perfected.'¹ It is on this account that Basil, as we have seen, is at pains to give in some detail the dogmatic pre-suppositions of monasticism. We have now to consider some of the more striking features in Basil's application of his monastic principles.

The advantages of the monastic life consist, according to Basil, in the fact that a withdrawal from the world and its distractions² increases both the concentration and the continuity of the Christian life. Under monastic conditions it becomes possible to 'do all to the glory of God,'³ and also to 'pray without ceasing.'⁴ The monk can give his whole attention to the practice of the presence of God⁵ and the imitation of Christ.⁶

One of the most remarkable things about the monastic life, as it is portrayed for us by Basil, is its fullness and variety. His *Regulae* deal with a vast variety of topics, and his whole treatment of the subject has a much greater human interest than we might perhaps have expected. This no doubt is largely due to the fact that Basil, like Pacomius, adopts the coenobitic as against the eremitic form of monasticism. He thus expresses the reasons for his preference. No man is self-contained and sufficient for himself. The solitary life of the hermit tends to selfishness, and offers only a very limited field for the exercise of the Christian virtues and the gifts of the Spirit, while it does not provide the opportunities of mutual encouragement and correction which life in a community affords. 'In the solitary life,' he says, 'the gifts which we have from God are useless, and the gifts we lack cannot be supplied.'⁷ Basil knew that in many

¹ *Reg. Brev. Prooem.*

² He frequently speaks of the monastic life as ὁ ἀπερίσπαστος βίος, while he also gives directions for the avoidance of μετεωρισμός, or inattention. Cf. *Reg. Brev.* xxi. and *Reg. Fus.* xxxvii. 3. οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀμετεώριστον τῇ ψυχῇ κατορθοῦμεν.

³ Cf. *Reg. Fus.* v. 3, et *passim*.

⁴ *Reg. Fus.* xxxvii. 3. Cf. *Reg. Brev.* ccxxx.

⁵ Cf. *Reg. Brev.* xxiv., πληροφορία τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ παρουσίας.

⁶ *Reg. Fus.* xliii.

⁷ *Ibid.* vii. ὅτι δύσκολον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον τὸ μονάζειν.

instances the ascetic enthusiasm of Egypt had tended to become a mere abnegation of the human faculties.

In the life of the Basilian community there are many outlets provided for an orderly expression of religious fervour. There are fixed hours of prayer, each with its own special associations. Offices corresponding to nocturns, mattins, terce, sext, none, and vespers are all mentioned, while it is interesting to notice a reference to an office resembling the later Benedictine compline.¹ The services are to be varied as much as possible, in order to avoid inattention. The reading of the Scriptures is recommended, while novices are to commit them to memory.² Conversations of good men are to be listened to, and the lives of the saints read and recited, as so many incentives to virtue.³ Work of a simple though varied character⁴ is ordered, not merely as exercise or discipline for the individual,⁵ but as benefiting the community, and providing for the poor. Further, there is to be a lively and active corporate spirit in the community. The disobedient man is to be cut off as a diseased limb.⁶ Those who disregard the feelings of the community, even in small matters of behaviour,⁷ are to be reprimanded. Conversation is to be carefully regulated and the monk is to be the true gentleman.⁸ In the monastic brotherhood the Pauline conception of the body and its members can find its truest expression.⁹

But though there is variety of activity, yet there is to be unity of administration. As there is one aim for all, so also

¹ Cf. *Reg. Fus.* xxxvii.

² *Reg. Brev.* xcv. Basil does not say anything about any other reading. It is doubtful whether he would have applied his *Homilia ad adolescentes, de legendis libris Gentilium*, to monks. But we have to remember that Basil and his friend Gregory in their monastic retreat composed the *Philocalia*.

³ *De Ren. Saec.* 4.

⁴ *Reg. Fus.* xxxviii.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxxvii., οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸν ὑποπιασμὸν τοῦ σώματος.

⁶ *Ibid.* xxviii.

⁷ E.g. *Reg. Brev.* lxxii. voracious eating is condemned.

⁸ *Ep.* ii. 5. Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, p. 63 *ad loc.*

⁹ *Reg. Fus.* vii. 2, cf. *Reg. Brev.* clxxv.

there is to be one source of authority, namely, the Superior. The high position of the Superior in Basil's scheme calls for some remark. It seems as if the great Saint, who by his own personal example had done so much to further the monastic cause, can never say enough about the importance for the community of the personal influence of a good superintendent. It is the duty of all who enter upon the monastic life to attach themselves to some man of stern and inflexible morality, to whom they must render the most implicit obedience.¹ The Superior must be not only a capable, vigorous, and far-seeing ruler, but also a pattern of kindness and humility to the brethren. His life of love and virtue must be an eloquent lesson to those over whom he rules.² It is interesting to note that in his absence a second-in-command is to be chosen to preside, lest a democratic state of things should prevail in the community.³

With regard to such matters as food and clothing, the monks are to be guided by the principles of necessity, utility, and simplicity.⁴ Everything is to serve the main purpose, namely, the glory of God, and luxury and ostentation are to be avoided. The monk is to be humbly but suitably clad, and is to wear a special dress by reason of his special

¹ Cf. *De Ren. Saec.* 2, and *Ep.* xxiii., ἐπιστῆσαι αὐτῷ ἀλείπτῃν καλῶς παιδοτριβεύοντα καὶ παλαιστὴν δόκιμον ἀπεργαζόμενον, and in the *Regulae passim*. The usual name for the Superior in Basil's writings is ὁ προεστώς. For other titles in other writers *vide* Besse, *Les Moines d'Orient*, pp. 167 ff.

² *Reg. Fus.* xliii., ὡς καὶ σιωπῶντος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑπόδειγμα πάντος λόγου ἰσχυρότερον εἰς διδασκαλίαν προσκείσθαι. *Ibid.* xxx., ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ἐπιμελεία πλειόνων ἐστὶν ὑπηρεσία.

³ *Reg. Fus.* xlv., δημοκρατικόν τι σχῆμα. De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire Romain au IV^{me} Siècle*, i. p. 166, shews how a desire to be under authority was one of the motives that led men to the monastic life—'la fatigue de dissensions, le besoin de la soumission, l'instinct de l'autorité.' For a picture of the times see the *De Judicio Dei*. It is probable also that the insecurity of property at that time would make the renunciation of worldly goods somewhat easier. Cf. Allard, *op. cit.* i. 212.

⁴ Cf. *Reg. Brev.* lxx., τῆς χρήσεως τὸ μέτρον ἡ ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη τῆς χρείας.

vocation.¹ In all matters of administrative detail the Superior, supported by his council of the elder monks, is to decide what is right.

There has been some dispute as to whether Basil introduced the practice of perpetual vows into the monastic life.² It is certain that he regards the profession made by monk or nun as a very solemn thing. It required witnesses,³ and apparently was made in set form.⁴ He tells us that those who break such a vow are guilty of sacrilege, in that they have stolen away the offering which was dedicated to God.⁵ He certainly decided that, whatever might have been the custom of the early Church, vows of virginity were to be treated as irrevocable,⁶ and it is hard to believe that his expressions with regard to monastic professions are merely an appeal to the conscience of the individual.⁷ There would always be a difficulty in making such vows legally binding, but so far as the monastery was concerned, they were to be considered as irrevocable.⁸

We have already remarked upon the comprehensiveness of Basil's treatment of monasticism. And it is to be noticed that his instructions include within their scope not only men, but also women and children, while the slave is not forgotten. Christianity had done much for women, slaves, and children, and monasticism had to take them into account. First, as regards women. The monastic vocation is, of course, open to them equally with men. They are to be organized in their own communities, with a Superior in

¹ *Reg. Fus.* xxii.

² De Broglie, *op. cit.* p. 181, asserts that Basil did so, and quotes in support of his statement Helyot, Bulteau, and Montalembert. R. T. Smith, *St. Basil*, p. 223, takes the same view. Blomfield Jackson, however, *St. Basil* (Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers), p. lii., doubts whether 'Basil's rule included formal vows of perpetual obligation in the more modern sense.'

³ *Reg. Fus.* xv., 4.

⁴ *Reg. Brev.* ii.

⁵ *Reg. Fus.* xiv.

⁶ *Ep.* cxcix. can. xviii.

⁷ So Blomfield Jackson, *St. Basil*, p. lii.

⁸ *Reg. Fus.* xiv. οἷς εὐλογόν ἐστι, μηκέτι θύραν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀνοίγεσθαι.

command.¹ In their relations with the monks care must be taken not to allow too great freedom of intercourse,² though women are not to be deprived of the advantages afforded by the spiritual ministrations of men.³ Secondly, the monasteries are to undertake the education of children, but in such a way that the regular life of the community is not disturbed.⁴ The children thus taught would no doubt serve as a recruiting-ground for the monastery, though in every case their vocation is to be carefully tested.⁵ Thirdly, if runaway slaves seek admission to the monastery, they are to be treated with kindness, and sent back to their masters with a recommendation to mercy. But there are occasions when the obligations of morality and the service of Christ⁶ take precedence of duty towards an earthly master. It is probable that the monastic life with its insistence upon the duty of manual labour did much to raise the position both of the working man and the slave.⁷

Of the relations between the monks and the clergy we have no express mention in the *Regulae*. But Basil in his own person combined the monk with the ecclesiastic.⁸ A union of monks and clergy had secured his election to the episcopate,⁹ and we know that after his consecration Basil kept many monks around him. He also ordained his brother Peter to the priesthood, and set him to minister to Macrina's convent. In one of his writings Basil warns the monk who is also in

¹ ἡ προεστῶσα. *Reg. Brev. cviii.*

² Pacomius had ordered that the waters of the Nile must flow between the monastery and the convent, and Basil himself was separated from Macrina by the river Iris. But Basil's regulations are more moderate than those of Pacomius. *Cf. Zöckler, op. cit. p. 290.*

³ *Reg. Fus. xxxiii., Reg. Brev. cx.*

⁴ *Reg. Fus. xv. 2.*

⁵ *Ib. 4.*

⁶ *Reg. Fus. xi., τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Δεσπότου.*

⁷ Allard, *op. cit. p. 242*, points out that the working classes were growing in importance at this period, and the slaves decreasing in numbers.

⁸ As did also the two Gregories.

⁹ *Cf. Greg. Naz. Or. 43, Ep. 184.*

Orders against pride in his position.¹ It would seem as if some satisfactory *modus vivendi* had been established.² Although there is no mention of the officiant, we find that the Eucharist was duly celebrated and honoured amongst the monks, while the confessors of the monastery are apparently of priestly rank.³ Basil in one of his letters severely censures those solitaries who vowed never to receive Orders.⁴ It is probable that Basil expected the monastic movement to have a salutary effect upon the clergy, whose lack of devotion he deplored.⁵

It now remains to answer two objections which may be brought against any monastic scheme such as that of St. Basil. First, that it is unpractical and unsocial,⁶ and secondly, that by reason of its ascetic standpoint it is dualistic and unchristian.⁷ We can feel sure that Basil himself felt both these difficulties, and did his best to cope with them. Such objections might reasonably have been brought against much of Egyptian monasticism, and Basil would seek to avoid the faults of his predecessors. As we have already seen, he insists that love of God necessitates love of our neighbour, and he advocates life in a community as a corrective to religious individualism.

¹ *De Ren. Saec.* 10, μή σε βαθμὸς κλήρου ἐπαιρέτω, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ταπεινούτω. . . ὅσον ἐγγίξειν σε τῶν ἱερατικῶν βαθμῶν τοῖς μείζουσι συμβαίη, τοσούτου ταπείνου σεαυτὸν.

² With regard to Pacomius *cf.* Besse, *op. cit.* p. 414, 'La plupart des maisons soumises à la règle de saint Pakhôme finirent, avec le temps, par posséder un clergé monacal.'

³ *Cf.* *Reg. Brev.* clxxii., cccix., cccx., Εἰ χρὴ εἰς κοινὸν οἶκον προσκομιδὴν γίνεσθαι. *Reg. Brev.* cclxxxviii., ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. At professions οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (*Reg. Fus.* xv. 4) are to be present. St. Basil himself communicated four times a week and recommends a daily communion to one of his correspondents. *Ep.* xciii.

⁴ *Ep.* clxxxviii. can. x., οἱ ὀμνύοντες μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν.

⁵ *Ep.* xcii. 2. Οἷχεται σεμνότης ἱερατικὴ ἐπιλελοίπασιν οἱ ποιμαίνοντες μετ' ἐπιστήμης ποίμνιον τοῦ κυρίου.

⁶ *Cf.* A. V. G. Allen, *op. cit.* p. 173.

⁷ *Cf.* Böhringer, *Biograph.* viii.

Further, his monasteries were not to be isolated in the wilds of the desert, but situated near the towns. They were to undertake the education of children, to exercise hospitality to strangers,¹ to tend the sick,² and with proper care and discrimination to dispense alms to the poor.³ In view of all these facts it is not a little surprising to find that Basil says nothing as to the monk's duty of intercession for his brethren of the world.⁴ We can only suppose that it was included in his 'unwritten rules.'⁵

Again, with regard to ascetic practices, we have once more to remember that for Basil they are a means and not an end. His *ascesis* aims at bodily training, not bodily extinction; at a discipline and not an abnegation of the will. Also Basil required that the monk should not merely mortify his body for his own soul's good, but put it to useful work for the benefit of others. If to modern minds Basil's rule appears harsh, and if too great honour seems to be attached to the fact of celibacy and virginity, it must not be forgotten that he could claim scriptural authority for his *ascesis*, while the lax morality of the day, demanding a special effort on the part of sincere Christians, led him to emphasize more strongly the ascetic vocation which the Gospel contemplates.⁶ Basil set a high ethical standard to cure the moral evils of the time, and there were some 'who

¹ Cf. *Reg. Fus.* xx.

² *Reg. Brev.* clv., Πῶς δεῖ προσφέρεισθαι τοῖς ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ ἀρρώστοις, and *Epp.* xciv., cxlii.-iii. Cf. also Fialon, *op. cit.* p. 53.

³ *Reg. Brev.* c., ci., quote St. Matt. xv. 26, οὐκ ἔστιν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων, καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κυναρίοις.

⁴ It is mentioned in the *Praev. Inst. Asc.*, not generally allowed to be Basil's. *πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξωθεν φίλων* is one of the rewards for the Christian warrior.

⁵ Greg. Naz. mentions (*Orat.* xliii. 34) νομοθεσίαι μοναστῶν ἔγγραφοί τε καὶ ἄγραφοι.

⁶ It is interesting to notice the influence of eschatology upon Basil's ascetic recommendations. The Coming of the Lord and the Judgement of God are constantly adduced as incentives to the life of renunciation. On the connexion between eschatology and asceticism in the Gospels see an article in the *Expositor*, May 1911, by the present writer.

could receive it.¹ But all renunciation and all self-denial were to be inspired by the love of God.² A mere hatred of the body was Manichæan, and as such to be strongly condemned. All God's works, he would remind us, are good, and 'God is not the Author of Evil.'³

To sum up, it is to Basil's credit that he gave to monasticism a lawful place in the thought and practice of the Christian Church. His work in this respect has been done once and for all. Though he never actually composed a Rule, and though there is, properly speaking, no Basilian Order, yet he has affected the whole history of monasticism. Both East and West have felt his influence. It may be that if the monks of the East had been more closely 'Basilian' they would have done more for their Church. In the West Benedict owed more to Basil than to any other monastic writer for his 'Rule.' The Western monks had to apply Basilian ideals to the conversion of new nations. This saved them from a stagnation such as befell their Eastern brethren. Monasticism, like Christianity itself, has had its origins in the East and its finest developments in the West. But there are probably still great powers latent in the monks of the Eastern Church. History has justified Basil. Monasticism seems to be a permanent element in Catholic Christianity, and even Protestantism has witnessed several monastic endeavours within its ranks. It is doubtful indeed whether Christianity can ever afford to dispense with the services of the monk. The Church of England, in particular, has been reproached with a cultivation of the 'gentilities,' to the neglect of a deeper spirituality and devotion. There

¹ St. Matt. xix. 12.

² Cf. *Reg. Fus.* cxxviii. Cf. also W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 296 f. 'The adjective "ascetic" is applied to conduct originating on diverse psychological levels . . . [ascetic practices] may be fruits of the love of purity, shocked by whatever savors of the sensual. . . . They may also be fruits of love, that is, they may appeal to the subject in the light of sacrifices which he is happy in making to the Deity whom he acknowledges.' Fialon, *op. cit.* p. 178, says of Basil's asceticism 'C'était la rigueur de l'ascétisme oriental qui se pliait à l'indulgence grecque.'

³ The title of a Homily. *Bas. Op.* ii. p. 101 ff.

are those who maintain that its true salvation lies in a proper concentration of its energies, and that revival and reinvigoration can only be brought about by such means. But in whatever form revival may come, if we are not once again to close the doors upon enthusiasm we shall need another St. Basil to secure for it a welcome and a home within our Church.

E. F. MORISON.

ART. VI.—THE BOOK OF ISAIAH: A NEW THEORY, II.

1. *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah in the Light of History and Archaeology.* 'The Schweich Lectures,' 1909. By the Rev. ROBERT H. KENNETT, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. (London: Published for the British Academy by H. Frowde. 1910.)
2. *The 'Servant of the Lord.'* By ROBERT H. KENNETT, D.D. (London: Edward Arnold. 1911.)

In a previous article we discussed Dr. Kennett's treatment of the life and times of Isaiah in the first of his 'Schweich Lectures,' with a view to estimating how far he had done justice to the genius of the prophet and the historical circumstances of his age. The present article is concerned with the second and third lectures, which deal respectively with the 'Enlargement of the original Book of Isaiah by the addition of Prophecies composed in the Babylonian and Persian Periods,' and the 'Modification of the enlarged Book of Isaiah during the Maccabaeon Period, and addition to it of Prophecies recently composed.' To attempt, however, to cover all the ground which falls within the scope of these two lectures would necessarily take us far beyond the limits of a single article. We are bound, therefore, to pass by without notice much that is of considerable interest for the

criticism of the Book of Isaiah, and to concentrate our attention upon two points. These are points which would probably be selected by Dr. Kennett himself as of most outstanding importance for the theory which he has set himself to maintain. The first is the character and composition of the latter half of the Book of Isaiah, cc. xl.-lxvi. This is a subject which is of especial interest in face of the theory put forward by Dr. Kennett in his 'Schweich Lectures,' and expounded in detail in the small book which stands second at the head of this article, that the passages in this section of the Book of Isaiah which speak of the ideal Servant of Yahwe and the sufferings which he undergoes in the pursuit of his aims are the work of the Maccabaeon age, and that the Servant typifies the *Hasîdîm* or 'pious ones,' *i.e.* the members of the anti-Hellenizing party, whose sufferings on behalf of their Faith form the main subject of 1 Maccabees. Having dealt with this subject so far as space allows, we must pass on to what is really the chief question which we have to ask with regard to Dr. Kennett's whole theory, *viz.* whether the evidence which we possess as to the formation of the second division of the Hebrew Scriptures, *i.e.* 'the Prophets,'¹ admits of the probability, or even of the possibility, that the Book of Isaiah can have been expanded by more than half its original size by the addition of prophecies which were the work of the latter half of the Second century B.C.

I

We turn, then, to the question of the composition and date of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. It was noticed in the first article that historical criticism of the Book of Isaiah may be said to start in the latter part of the Eighteenth century with recognition of the fact that this section of the book cannot

¹ This term is used in the Hebrew Bible to include the historical books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, which are grouped under the title 'the former Prophets,' while Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the twelve so-called 'Minor prophets' are distinguished as 'the latter Prophets.'

be assigned to the prophet of the Eighth century B.C., but belongs to the period of the Babylonian exile. We need not here trace the stages by which this opinion gained ground through the labours of different students of Isaiah during the Nineteenth century, since detailed summaries of the growth of criticism are readily available to readers of this article.¹ It is sufficient to observe that, until the last decade of the Nineteenth century, the dominant theory with regard to Isaiah xl.-lxvi. was that which regarded these chapters as being, in the main, the work of a single prophet who wrote towards the close of the Babylonian captivity. As typical exponents of this theory we may mention Dr. Dillmann in Germany, and, in this country, Dr. Driver in *Isaiah, his Life and Times* (1888) and Dr. George Adam Smith in 'The Expositor's Bible' (1888-90). The theory is based upon the obvious fact that in cc. xl. ff. the Babylonian exile, so far from being predicted as something future, forms an understood element in the situation of the prophet and those for whom he is writing. On the other hand, deliverance from exile is predicted, and the opening verse of c. xl. strikes a note of encouragement and consolation. Jerusalem has already received at Yahwe's hand double for all her sins, and deliverance and restoration are near at hand. Cyrus, who is to be Yahwe's instrument in bringing about this restoration, has already advanced upon his career of conquest; and the fact of his rise upon the horizon of the times is triumphantly cited as *the fulfilment of prophecy*, the fulfilment of an event which Yahwe has announced in time past by the mouth of His prophets, and so a proof of His Almighty power as against the powerlessness of the heathen gods who are unable to point to any instance of an event predicted by them which has found fulfilment. This fact, when taken by itself, apart from subsidiary arguments which may be based upon the theological conceptions and style of the author of these chapters, is amply sufficient to

¹ The most succinct summary is given by Dr. Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, eighth edit. pp. 244 ff. The Introduction to Dr. Whitehouse's *Isaiah* ('Century Bible'), vol. ii., may also be consulted.

prove that the prophecy cannot have been written by Isaiah in the Eighth century B.C. ; since it may legitimately be asked what becomes of this argument for Yahwe's power to do yet greater things for His people, based upon the fact that He has already brought about past predictions through having raised up Cyrus to do His good pleasure, if the prophecy was spoken or written more than a hundred years before Cyrus was born ? ¹ The date of Isaiah xl. ff. is fixed, then, within fairly narrow limits. The union of the Medes and Persians into one empire by Cyrus, the event which first brought him into prominence as a conqueror, took place in B.C. 549 ; the return of Israel from exile by edict of Cyrus is placed in B.C. 538. The inference therefore is that some time during the eleven years which intervene between these two dates this prophecy of restoration was written down. The distinct authorship of Is. xl. ff. having been established along the lines thus briefly indicated, it has become customary to speak of the unknown exilic author as Deutero-Isaiah.

Criticism of these chapters has now reached, however, a further stage. Even the scholars who were content to regard the whole of cc. xl.-lxvi. as the work of Deutero-Isaiah could not fail to be struck by the fact that the literary unity of the chapters is by no means perfect. Thus, the transition from c. xlviii. to c. xlix. is somewhat abrupt ; and still more clearly marked is the break which occurs after c. lv. While cc. xl.-lv. all strike the note of near impending release from captivity, and can be explained upon the hypothesis of a late exilic authorship, c. lvi. 1-8 seems to be written from the standpoint of 'the day of small things' which succeeded the return, and the implication from verse 8 clearly is that some of 'the outcasts of Israel' have already been 'gathered,' *i.e.* have returned to their native land. The following section, lvi. 9-lvii. 21 contains a tirade against idolatrous practices the setting of which is Palestinian and not Babylonian (*cf.* especially lvii. 5), and

¹ This point is admirably worked out by Dr. G. A. Smith in his second volume on Isaiah in 'The Expositor's Bible,' pp 9-12 ; *cf.* also pp. 111 ff.

has been supposed by some to be a pre-exilic oracle of the date of Manasseh's reign. Similar differences in standpoint from cc. xl.-lv. may be noticed in the remaining chapters of the book. Those scholars who adopt the theory that xl.-lxvi. as a whole is the work of Deutero-Isaiah have supposed that lvi. ff., though by the same author, are somewhat later than the earlier chapters, and were indited in order to strike a note of warning and preparation in view of the nearness of the restoration.

'Thus Dillmann (p. 363 f.) supposes c. 40-48 to have been written in the midst of Cyrus' successes, c. 545 B.C., c. 49-62 between 545 and 539-538; while c. 63-66 are, he considers, of the nature of an appendix, dealing with questions which arose when the return to Palestine was imminent, and added therefore nearly at the time of the edict of Cyrus;—c. 66 may in parts (esp. in v. 18-24) have been expanded by a subsequent hand (p. 534).'¹

Dr. G. A. Smith, who in 'The Expositor's Bible' adopts substantially the same position as Dillmann, deals with cc. lvi. 9-lxix. (the Palestinian colouring of which, as regards lvi. 9-lvii., we have already noticed) in a chapter entitled 'The Rekindling of the Civic Conscience,' and supposes that, upon the eve of the return, Deutero-Isaiah 'collected these reminiscences of his people's sin in the days of their freedom, in order to remind them, before they went back again to political responsibility, why it was they were punished and how apt they were to go astray.'² This view is also taken by Dr. Driver, both in his earlier work on Isaiah and in the most recent edition of his *Literature of the Old Testament*.³

The attempt to maintain the unity of lvi.-lxvi. with xl.-lv. can scarcely, however, be deemed successful. It is not merely that the writer's *standpoint* is different from that

¹ Driver, *Literature of the Old Testament*, eighth edit. p. 244.

² ii. p. 409.

³ *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, pp. 187 ff.; *Lit. Old. Test.*, p. 244. Dr. Smith now (*Hastings Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. 'Isaiah,' p. 494a) appears to favour a post-exilic date for the prophecy.

of the earlier chapters. This fact alone, if not adequately explained as by the scholars above noticed, might be accounted for by the supposition that Deutero-Isaiah lived on until after the return, and indited his later oracles in view of the position of affairs in Palestine at this period. But the fact cannot be gainsaid that, together with many resemblances to the style and thought of Deutero-Isaiah, there exist in lvi.-lxvi. a certain number of fairly well defined differences. It is impossible here to enter into these in detail; but as prominent among them we may notice an interest in ritual observance which has affinities with Ezekiel and of which no trace exists in Deutero-Isaiah, and also certain clear traces of the style and influence of Deuteronomy. Thus Duhm was the first to assign cc. lvi.-lxvi. to a distinct writer who flourished during the early part of the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, *i.e.* the middle of the Fifth century B.C. This writer Duhm distinguishes as Trito-Isaiah. The theory of a Trito-Isaiah has rapidly gained ground, and is now adopted by the majority of scholars. To the present writer it appears best to explain the problems connected with the chapters under discussion¹; but the term 'Trito-Isaiah,' if adopted, should be employed with the reservation that it is perhaps to be understood of a school of writers (disciples of the Deutero-Isaiah) rather than of a single writer, since in view of the miscellaneous character and contents of the oracles contained in lvi.-lxvi. it is difficult to maintain with any confidence that the whole is probably the work of a single prophet.

II

It is not, however, with Trito-Isaiah that we are at present specially concerned. The passages which speak of the ideal Servant of Yahwe are confined to Deutero-Isaiah; and it is

¹ *E.g.* the idolatrous abuses and religious persecution mentioned in lvi. 9 ff. may, on this theory, be explained (like those referred to in cc. lxv. f.) with reference to the Samaritans and renegade Jews (probably those who had remained behind in Palestine during the exile) of post-exilic times.

the relationship of these passages to their context which is our chief point of interest, in view of the contention of Dr. Kennett, above noticed, that the figure of the ideal Servant stands in no connexion with the period of the exile, but is the creation of the Maccabaeian age.

Perhaps the most satisfactory way of approaching this subject is to take cc. xl.-lv. as a whole, and to consider (so far as may be done within a very brief compass) whether a connected argument can be traced throughout the section, and whether 'the Servant passages' enter into and form an integral part of the course of this argument.

Chapter xl. opens with Yahwe's message of encouragement to His people, the promise of near-approaching restoration. Those who are commanded to convey the message seem to be, not simply the prophet and others like-minded with him, but rather supernatural angelic beings. Accordingly, it is some such being who is represented as proclaiming the message in v. 3:—'Hearken! there is one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of Yahwe, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.' After enlarging upon this theme in vv. 4, 5, the voice goes on to commission the prophet with a message, the correct reading in v. 6 being not 'and *one* said,' but 'and *I* said'¹:—'The voice said, Cry! And I said, What shall I cry?' The substance of the prophet's message (vv. 6-8) is immediately suggested by what has gone before. The idea that Yahwe should prepare a way for the return of His people from exile is beyond all human expectation, but, whilst man is frail and passing as the flower of the field, 'the word of our God shall stand for ever.' After the joyous proclamation has been made to Zion and the cities of Judah (v. 9), the prophet in vv. 10, 11 places side by side the two ideas of Yahwe's *power* as about to be exemplified, and His *tenderness* as exhibited towards His flock, the feeble band of exiles. This leads the way to a more detailed consideration of Yahwe's might as the sole controller of the universe. In vv. 18-26 we first meet with the contrast between Yahwe

¹ Reading *wā'ōmar* in place of *wē'āmar* (a change of vowel-points merely) with the Septuagint and Vulgate.

and the idols of the heathen, which is worked out in fuller detail further on in the prophecy. Finally, in vv. 27-31, the prophet anticipates and answers his people's objection that they are too feeble and down-trodden to be thus the object of Yahwe's peculiar care.

In chapter xli. it is no longer the prophet who speaks: the speaker is Yahwe Himself, who summons the heathen nations to debate. The nations are invited to explain the rise and success of Cyrus, who is the 'one from the east' mentioned in v. 2. They are unable to gainsay Yahwe's claim to have been the cause, as the guide of the destinies of peoples. In vv. 5-7 the alarm of the nations is depicted in prospect of the conqueror's advance. With great irony they are represented as making new idols, as good and strong as possible, to aid them in face of the impending danger.

In vv. 8-20 Yahwe turns to address Israel. Notice carefully that here for the first time the title '*My servant*' is applied to the nation:—'Thou Israel, My servant, Jacob, whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham, My friend. . . . I said unto thee, Thou art My servant, I have chosen thee and not cast thee away.' The message strikes a note of reassurance in answer to Israel's fears, which, as we have observed, found expression in vv. 27-31 of the preceding chapter. Verses 17 ff. beautifully depict the feeble exiles seeking for water along their barren homeward route, and the miraculous provision for their need. The passage, no doubt, contains an underlying reference to the supply of *spiritual* needs; and we may compare the last chapter of the section, lv., which opens with the invitation, 'Ho! everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.'

With v. 21 we are brought back again to the controversy between Yahwe and the nations; but on this occasion it is the heathen gods who are directly addressed. They are invited to shew their power by citing any instance of the fulfilment of some past prediction for which they were responsible; or, as an alternative, by predicting some event which lies still in the future. Utterly failing to respond to either requirement, or to give any proof that they are living effective agents, they are contemptuously dismissed:

'Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought : an abomination is he that chooseth you.'

In v. 25, on the other hand, Yahwe cites His own proof of power. Cyrus, predicted of old time, is already advancing as a mighty conqueror. It is Yahwe, and He alone, who is responsible for his advancement, and He designs him as the instrument of His good pleasure in bringing about the deliverance of Israel. This is the substance of the 'good tidings' for Jerusalem spoken of in v. 27. The contest between Yahwe and the idols thus ends in triumphant vindication of Yahwe's unique claims.

Chapter xlii. 1-9 is the first of the passages in which the ideal Servant is introduced. Endued with the spirit of Yahwe, this personage is represented as charged with a mission which is world-wide in scope : 'He shall bring forth judgement to the nations. . . . He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgement in the earth, and the coast-lands (*i.e.* the lands beyond the western sea) shall wait for His instruction.'¹ So vast a movement is not to be accomplished through violent means, or by a great upheaval. It is to be a beneficent work, characterized by gentle steady progress. 'He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and a dimly-burning wick shall he not quench ; he shall bring forth judgement in accordance with truth.' The expression of v. 6, which, as rendered, describes the Servant as 'a covenant of the people,' we shall have to consider later on. Here we may notice that Yahwe regards His call of the Servant as in some sense the crown of His creative work :

'Thus saith the God Yahwe, He that created the heavens and stretched them forth ; He that spread abroad the earth and that which cometh out of it ; He that giveth life unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein : I Yahwe have called thee in righteousness, and do hold thine hand, and do keep thee, and do give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the nations ; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the

¹ The term 'judgement' is here used as a summary description of the religion of Yahwe, with its moral and ceremonial requirements.

prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house. I am Yahwe; that is My name: and My glory will I not give to another, neither My praise unto graven images.' ¹

This fact of the mission of the Servant is the summary of the 'new things' (v. 9) which Yahwe predicts as in store for the future. It is important here to notice two points which seem to connect the prophecy of the ideal Servant with the earlier chapters which we have already considered. One is the allusion to the test of prophecy and its fulfilment as a proof of Yahwe's power, and the other (closely bound up with this) the reference to graven images—an echo of the controversy with the idol-gods which we noticed in c. xli.

Mention of these 'new things' in v. 9 suggests the 'new song' of vv. 10–13. Here it is the prophet who speaks, summoning creation to rejoice in celebrating Yahwe's mighty deeds so soon to be revealed.

In v. 14 Yahwe again speaks. For long He has restrained Himself, but now He must intervene in favour of His chosen people, and lead them in safety through all the perils which bar their path to freedom—an exhibition of supreme power which will confound the heathen nations who put their trust in idols.

At this point Yahwe turns as it were, and makes a direct appeal:

'Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see. Who

¹ It can scarcely be doubted that the series of Imperfects with weak *wāw*, according to the pointed Hebrew text (rendered in R.V. 'and will hold,' etc.), should really be pointed as Imperfects with *wāw* consecutive (lit. 'and have held,' etc.), i.e. a series of future events which the writer's vivid imagination pictures as already accomplished. That they *really are* future events, which are prophesied as destined to come about, is in fact stated in v. 9:— 'The former things are come to pass, and *new things* do I announce; *before they spring forth* do I declare them.' Here, then, we have additional evidence against Dr. Kennett's contention that the construction of the Imperfect with *wāw* consecutive is never used as the equivalent of a prophetic perfect: cf. the appended note in C.Q.R. April 1912, pp. 123 ff.

is blind, but My servant? or deaf as My messenger that I send? Who is blind as the surrendered one, and deaf¹ as the servant of Yahwe? Thou seest many things, but thou observest not; his ears are open, but he heareth not.'

Here it is quite clear, if we take notice of the connexion in which the passage occurs) that the title 'My servant' is applied to the nation of Israel as a whole. So far from being (as pictured in vv. 1-9) the ready instrument in Yahwe's hands for the carrying into effect of His purposes, the nation has been in time past, and still is, blind and deaf to its vocation. This, as is explained in vv. 22-25, is the reason of the calamities which have fallen upon Israel, culminating in the exile. 'Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? Did not Yahwe? He against whom we have sinned, and in whose ways they would not walk, neither were obedient to His instruction.' But now, as is explained in c. xliii., all is to be changed. Israel may take courage; for Yahwe has redeemed the nation, and is about to effect its deliverance. In v. 3 Cyrus is depicted as compensated for the emancipation of Israel by the deliverance into his hands of the African nations, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba. The dispersed of Israel are to be gathered from all quarters, and the nation, though indeed spiritually blind and deaf, yet has eyes and ears which can bear witness to such patent external facts as instances of Yahwe's power. Israel has *heard* the prophecies of release, and will now *see* them fulfilled; and so may be cited as Yahwe's witnesses in the controversy between Him and the gods of the heathen. This is the purport of vv. 8-13. The remainder of the chapter, from v. 14 onwards, deals once more with the theme of Yahwe's mighty work on behalf of Israel, Israel's failure in time past to realize their obligations to such a God, and the forgiveness which that God is still ready to extend to them. The allusion in v. 27, 'Thy first father sinned, and thy interpreters transgressed against Me,' is to Jacob, the eponymous

¹ The text here has 'blind'; but parallelism demands the reading 'deaf,' which is found in the Greek translation of Symmachus, καὶ κωφὸς ὡς ὁ δοῦλος κυρίου.

ancestor of the nation, and to the prophets, as interpreters of Yahwe's will. If such spiritual leaders can be accused of shortcomings in their relationship towards their God, what is to be expected of the bulk of the nation? In v. 28 we ought to read (with R.V. margin) past instead of future tenses:—'Therefore I profaned consecrated princes (*i.e.* the kings or priests), and I gave Jacob for a curse, and Israel for reviling.'

Chapter xlv. points the contrast between the past and the future. The future is to witness the outpouring of abundant spiritual blessings upon the regenerated nation, and strangers will esteem it the highest of distinctions, the most coveted boon, to be united with Israel in the service of their God. This promise leads back once more (in v. 6) to the main theme of the all-efficient cause, namely the unique power of Yahwe. Following upon this, in vv. 9–20, the manufacture of the helpless idols of the heathen is ironically described at length, with a wealth of pictorial detail. Then, after a renewed promise to Israel of forgiveness for past sins and near-approaching deliverance, the Divine speaker passes on to Cyrus, who in c. xlv. is addressed as the anointed of Yahwe, and reminded of the true reason for which he is entrusted with so great power. Verses 9 ff. appear to be addressed to a section of the nation which resented the idea of deliverance through the intervention of an outsider; and thus in v. 13 we find that the fact of Cyrus' Divine call is emphatically reasserted. Then, after a picture, in vv. 14–17, of the total collapse of the heathen nations who trust in idols, the culmination of the great deliverance is seen to issue in the everlasting salvation of Israel.

Without lingering over cc. xlv. and xlvii., which describe the coming downfall of Babylon, we pass on to c. xlviii., which is somewhat remarkable as couched in a severer strain towards the nation of Israel than has previously appeared in the prophecy. The fact seems to be that the spiritual shortcomings of the nation, the contrast between the real and the ideal, is powerfully borne in upon the prophet. It is the working out of the theme of the nation as the blind

and deaf servant to which we have previously noticed an allusion. For the rest, the chapter, from v. 12 onwards, is a recapitulation of the main themes of the preceding prophecy. Verse 22 seems here to stand out of its proper connexion; and is perhaps a gloss derived from c. lvii. 21, and intended to refer to the faithless Israel described in the earlier part of the chapter.

At this point there is a break, and the prophecy enters upon a new phase. Henceforth we read no more of the controversy between Yahwe and the heathen gods. Cyrus, the coming deliverer, has fulfilled his part in the prophecy, and passes out of sight. The theme is wholly concerned with the restored Zion of the future, the ideal Servant and his work. The prophecy moves more evenly, and the argument in the main can be readily followed, and need not here be analyzed in detail.

Chapter xlix. opens with the second great passage which describes the work of Yahwe's ideal Servant. Here the Servant himself is introduced as speaking, and announces his mission to the world at large. He describes himself as Yahwe's efficient instrument:

'He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of His hand hath He hid me; and He hath made me a polished shaft; in His quiver hath He kept me close: and He said to me, Thou art My Servant: Israel, in whom I will be glorified.'

Here for the first time we have a proof that the *ideal* Servant is in some sense *Israel*, that is, in some sense the nation or its representative. But that the term 'Servant' is not here, as elsewhere, applied to the whole nation in actuality is clear from vv. 5, 6, where the Servant represents himself as charged with a mission to his nation in the first place, and then to the Gentiles. We notice again in v. 8 the designation 'a covenant of the people,' which has already been applied to the Servant in c. xlii. 6.

From this point onwards the prophecy occupies itself wholly with the approaching restoration of Israel, Zion being depicted as the mother of the nation, the wife of Yahwe who has been put away in displeasure, but is once

more to be received back into favour. In c. l., 4-9, we meet with the third passage which concerns the ideal Servant. Here again it is the Servant who speaks, dwelling upon the theme of his mission, to which allusion was made in the preceding passages. Now, for the first time, it is made clear that the mission will involve much difficulty, much suffering, pain, and loss to Yahwe's agent. All this, however, he has well weighed beforehand; and he expresses his determination to go forward in the strength of the Lord Yahwe, whatever may betide him. Verse 10 is important, as making the fact clear that here also, in the figure of the ideal Servant, the prophet has not in view the nation as a whole; for he appeals from the example of the Servant to all such among the nation who are willing to associate themselves with him.

This indication of the suffering which is in store for Yahwe's Servant in the accomplishment of his mission prepares the way (after a recapitulation of the main themes of the earlier chapters) ¹ for the fourth and last great passage which deals with the ideal Servant: c. lii. 13-liii. 12. Here the prophecy takes the form of a description of the Servant's sufferings, death, and resurrection, apparently put into the mouths of the 'many nations' and 'kings' mentioned in lii. 15, who express their wonder as the meaning of the spectacle of which they have been witnesses gradually dawns upon them.

Chapter liv. resumes the main theme of the prophecy as a whole, consisting of an assurance of the nation's reunion with Yahwe, who is pictured as a husband receiving back the wife of his youth after a temporary estrangement (vv. 1-10), and a description of the material and spiritual blessings which are in store for the nation in the near future (vv. 11-17). This is followed in c. lv. by a final exhortation to the exiles to accept these blessings, stress being laid upon the spiritual satisfaction which they are able to convey (vv. 1-5); and a caution against neglect of the present

¹ The fact that c. li. clearly presupposes an acquaintance with the passages which speak of the ideal Servant is noticed later on in this article.

opportunity, and the tendency to judge of Yahwe's plans in accordance with mere human limitations (vv. 6-11). Finally, the promise of return from exile is briefly reiterated in phraseology which is reminiscent of earlier parts of the prophecy.

This survey, brief as it necessarily is, may at any rate serve to shew that we have in Isaiah xl.-lv. an organically connected whole, governed and inspired throughout by certain well-defined central ideas. The unique power of Yahwe, on the one hand, in contrast to the idol-gods of the heathen; His unique relationship to Israel, on the other, and the purpose which this relationship has in view, may be said to form the warp and woof which underlie the whole texture of the prophecy. Yahwe's unique power, as proved by His triumph over the heathen gods in the matter both of predicting the future and determining it through the raising up of Cyrus to perform His good pleasure, has as its purpose the restoration of Israel from captivity; and the reason for Israel's restoration is explained by its unique relationship to Yahwe—Israel is Yahwe's *Servant* entrusted with a mission of which the outcome is to be the spread of true religion to the world at large. If we keep these facts in mind, and realize at the same time that we are dealing with the creation of a great *poet*, we shall not find insuperable difficulty in the writer's dramatic impersonation of his speakers, his rapid transition from point to point in his argument, and reiteration of his main themes; nor shall we expect to trace a strictly logical argument developed step by step after the manner of plain prose.

Such a claim as is here put forward for the organic unity of these chapters does not, of course, exclude the possibility, or probability, of minor interpolations which are the work of later hands. Such are to be traced in all probability in c. xlviii., if not elsewhere also; but they are comparatively so unimportant that the fact of their existence in no way diminishes the force of our main contention that the prophecy taken as a whole is essentially one composition. Nor do we minimize the fact that, in regard to the most striking conception embodied in the prophecy, difficulties of interpretation

have been raised which appear to many scholars to remain unsolved upon the view that the prophecy is the work of a single writer. Laying aside the fact of the break which we have noticed between cc. xlviii. and xlix., which may be due to the fact that cc. xlix. ff. were penned upon a later occasion than cc. xl.-xlviii.,¹ we have the much more vexed question of the relationship between the four great passages which describe the *ideal* Servant of Yahwe, or, as they have sometimes been termed, the Servant-songs, xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, and lii. 13-liii. 12, and the main part of the prophecy in which Israel, in so far as he figures as Yahwe's servant, is pictured as blind and deaf, and, to all appearances, unequal to his high vocation.

This is a question which many scholars whose names are most outstandingly associated with the criticism and interpretation of Is. xl.-lxvi., such as Drs. Dillmann, A. B.

¹ As we have remarked, the main difference in content between xlix ff. and the preceding chapters is that we hear no more of the controversy between Yahwe and the idol-gods, and that Cyrus, the coming deliverer, who bulks conspicuously in the earlier section, now passes out of sight. The explanation of this difference clearly is that the prophet, having sufficiently worked out the theme of Yahwe's unique power and the agency through which He purposes to effect Israel's restoration, now feels himself at liberty to devote himself wholly to the theme of this future restoration, and the work of the ideal Servant which is to find its culmination therein. In answer to the points raised by Cheyne ('Isaiah' in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, Heb. text, p. 126) as marking a difference between xl.-xlviii. and xlix.-lv., see Box, *Book of Isaiah*, pp. 238 f., who holds that 'such slight differences as do exist may easily be explained as due to the difference of the themes treated, and to the later date of the writing.' It is probable that the difficulty of immediately correlating xlix. with xlviii. has been exaggerated. Dr. Davidson (*Expositor*, Dec. 1884, p. 439) remarks with justice:— 'It cannot be accidental that the two most lofty delineations of the work of the Servant and his relation to the heathen both appear immediately on the back of passages announcing the restoration of Israel, Chapter xlix. after xlviii. 20, and lii. 13 seq. after v. 11 of that Chapter. "Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence (Babylon). . . Behold My Servant shall deal wisely, he shall be very high."' Cf. also, on the essential connexion between xlix. and xlviii., Dr. G. A. Smith, *Isaiah*, ii. pp. 313 f.

Davidson,¹ Driver and G. A. Smith, have felt themselves able to solve consistently with a belief in the unity of the four passages specified with the prophecy as a whole. So far back, however, as 1841 Ewald put forward the view that lii. 13–liii. 12 was a distinct composition of the reign of Manasseh, which had been borrowed and inserted into his prophecy by the author of Is. xl. ff. Other scholars after Ewald maintained similar opinions; but it was reserved for Duhm (*Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875) to point out that the four great Servant passages must emanate from a common source, and to enunciate the theory that they may have been derived by Deutero-Isaiah from a life-history of Jeremiah, and inserted by him into his own work. Duhm has since modified this opinion, and now holds² that the four ‘Servant-songs’ are post-exilic insertions into cc. xl.–lv., and stand in no organic connexion with the original prophecy.

Duhm’s later view has found many supporters. Dr. Cheyne, who in his *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (1895) maintained, as against Duhm, that the Servant passages, though strictly speaking independent of their present contexts and at one time separate from them, cannot well have been inserted by anyone but Deutero-Isaiah himself, on account of the influence which they have exercised upon subsequent sections of his prophecy,³ has since⁴ adopted, like Duhm, the opinion that they are of later date than the framework in which they are placed, and were inserted by a later hand into Deutero-Isaiah’s expanded work. Most recently in England Mr. Box (1908) appears in this respect as a whole-hearted disciple of Duhm and Cheyne.

The points which appear mainly to have influenced scholarship in the formation of such a conclusion are the abruptness with which the Servant passages are introduced into the

¹ In a valuable series of articles in *The Expositor*, August 1883–Dec. 1884.

² *Handkomm.*, 1892; 2^e Aufl. 1902.

³ Cf. p. 307.

⁴ *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898, pp. 86 ff.; ‘Isaiah’ in *Sacred Books O.T.* (1899); *Encyc. Bibl.* ‘Servant of Yahwe,’ 1903.

work of Deutero-Isaiah, and the (alleged) fact that they can be separated from their context without any detriment to it; the conception of the Servant as an ideal personality in contrast to the 'blind and deaf' Servant of Deutero-Isaiah; the difference between the quiet and unobtrusive method of evangelization pursued by the ideal Servant (*cf.* xlii. 2, 3) and the way in which Deutero-Isaiah loudly publishes his message to all the world; and the carefully constructed form of the poems, all of which, except l. 4-9, exhibit the same rhythm. Duhm (like many other scholars) maintains the view that the picture of the ideal Servant is based upon an historical *individual*; but, whilst some other scholars have ventured to select such an individual from the pages of Jewish history,¹ Duhm is of the opinion that he was some nameless teacher of the Law who lived between the exile and the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem. It should be added that scholars who maintain this view of the four Servant-songs recognize the fact that, alongside of these alleged peculiarities, they exhibit in many respects affinity with the thought and diction of Deutero-Isaiah. The *motive* for the insertion of the Servant-songs into the older work of Deutero-Isaiah is thus summarized by Mr. Box: 'The Servant already appeared in the original work of Deutero-Isaiah, but the latter's treatment of the theme may well have been felt to be inadequate, and to need supplementing by a profounder exposition.'²

Whatever view be taken of these arguments severally, it is clear that the case for the originally separate existence of the Servant-songs³ is one which cannot lightly be dismissed; and if this case be held to be made out, we

¹ Selection of such a hero has ranged from Jeremiah down to Eleazar the martyred scribe whose fate is narrated in 2 Macc. vi. 18-31. *Cf.* Dr. Cheyne's article in *Encyc. Bibl.* 4401.

² *Op. cit.* p. 195.

³ The reader who is unacquainted with Hebrew must not, however, be misled by the title 'songs' applied to these four passages, and the fact that three of them are composed in the same rhythmical form, into supposing that in this respect they stand apart from the generally accepted work of Deutero-Isaiah. The same form of rhythm (three beats to the line) is frequently adopted by the prophet.

are bound further to consider the presumption that the author of the songs may have been distinct from Deutero-Isaiah.

Accepting this view as a working hypothesis, it is necessary closely to scrutinize the manner in which the songs have been fitted into Deutero-Isaiah's work. In the cases of xlii. 2-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, we have xlii. 5-7 (or 5-9), xlix. 7-12, l. 10, 11, as links connecting the songs with the main prophecy. The phraseology of the first two of these links, however, is so exactly the phraseology of Deutero-Isaiah himself that it is surely incredible to suppose that the author of them was a late writer embodying post-exilic compositions into the older work of the exilic prophet. The hand of such an interpolator is usually marked by a sharp divergence in standpoint or language from the original author, not by a subtle correspondence with him thought by thought and phrase by phrase.¹ The evidence furnished by c. li. is also very important. To a reader who is unprejudiced by preconceived theories it is difficult to escape the conviction that li. 7, 8 has

¹ We may notice xlii. 5, 'He that created the heavens and stretched them forth; He that spread abroad (lit. hammered out) the earth, and that which cometh out of it'; cf. xl. 22, 'that stretcheth forth the heavens like a curtain, and spreadeth them out like a tent to dwell in'; xlv. 24, 'I am Yahwe . . . that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad (lit. hammereth out) the earth'; xlv. 12, 'I have made the earth, and man upon it; I, even Mine hands, have stretched forth the heavens'; li. 13, 'who stretched forth the heavens and founded the earth'; li. 16, 'to stretch forth the heavens (reading *linîôth* in place of the impossible *linîôá* 'to plant') and to found the earth.'

xlii. 6 'I Yahwe (cf. xli. 17, xlv. 8, 19, 21; in predicative form 'I am Yahwe,' xli. 4, xliii. 15, xlv. 5, 6, 7, 18, xlviii. 17) have called thee (xli. 9, xliii. 1) in righteousness (cf. xli. 2 'whom He hath called in righteousness to follow Him'; xlv. 13 'I have raised him up in righteousness'), and have taken hold of thine hand (xli. 9 'whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth'; xli. 13 'Who taketh hold of thy right hand'; cf. li. 18 'There is none that taketh hold of her hand of all the sons, etc.'), and do keep thee, and do give thee for a covenant of the people (connects with the corresponding link to the second Servant-song, xlix. 8), for a light of the nations (so xlix. 6; cf. li. 4b, 'for a light of the peoples'). xlii. 7, 'To open the blind eyes, etc.' (cf. xlix. 9, on which see below). The connexion

behind it the Servant passage l. 4 ff., since the encouragement not to fear the reproaches of men and the metaphor of the moth devouring them as a garment are too striking to be otherwise explained. Indeed, the whole of li. is highly reminiscent of the earlier Servant-songs,¹ and may even be

between xlii. 8, 9 and the earlier part of Deutero-Isaiah has already been indicated in the analysis.

xlix. 7a probably shews acquaintance with the third and fourth Servant-songs, the first quarter of the verse with l. 6, lii. 14, liii. 3, 4, the second quarter with lii. 15a. xlix. 8b, which we have noticed as in part practically identical with xlii. 6b, appears in its continuation ('to raise up the land, to make them inherit the desolate heritages') to be referred to in xlix. 19. xlix. 9 (closely linked with xlii. 7) is reminiscent of Deutero-Isaiah's earlier prophecies: compare 'upon all bare heights shall be their pasture' with xli. 18, 'I will open rivers upon bare heights' (for the returning exiles). 'Their pasture' reflects the simile of the shepherd and his flock of xl. 11. With xlix. 10, 'He that taketh pity on them,' cf. liv. 10 'saith Yahwe who taketh pity on thee,' liv. 8 'with everlasting kindness do I take pity on thee.' With the verse generally compare xl. 11, where note especially ינהל *lit.* 'lead (flocks) to a watering place' as in our passage, 'shall lead them unto fountains of water.' In xlix. 11 the reference to the removal of physical obstacles which may stand in the way of the returning exiles is clearly reminiscent of xl. 4.

If any argument, then, can be based upon identity of thought and phraseology, the author of the links xlii. 5-9, xlix. 7-12, which respectively connect the first and second Servant-songs with the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah as a whole, can have been no other than this prophet himself, who must also (*cf.* xlix. 7a noticed above) have been acquainted with the third and fourth songs, and therefore, we may infer, have inserted them also. This latter point, however, can scarcely be disputed, if once it is admitted that evidence indicates that he inserted the earlier songs.

¹ With li. 4b, 'for instruction shall go forth from Me, and My judgement (*i.e. religion*; *cf.* note on xlii. 1 in the analysis) will I make to rest for a light of the peoples,' *cf.* xlii. 1b, 'He shall bring forth judgement (*i.e. religion*) to the nations'; with li. 5, 'upon Me shall the coast-lands wait, and for Mine arm shall they be expectant,' *cf.* xlii. 4b, 'for His instruction shall the coast-lands be expectant': with li. 16, 'with the shadow of Mine hand have I covered thee,' *cf.* xlix. 2, 'in the shadow of His hand hath He hidden me': with li. 23b, 'thou hast laid thy back as the ground, etc.,' *cf.* l. 6a, 'I gave my back to the smiters, etc.'

thought to contain touches which point forward to the last and crowning song.¹

Is it, however, true that the conception of the ideal Servant of the songs, and Deutero-Isaiah's conception, are sharply sundered? The point which (if it be granted) would make most strongly for such a sundering is Dr. Duhm's contention that in the songs the figure of the Servant is that of an *actual individual*. Yet no one should lightly accept this hypothesis without first carefully weighing the masterly counter-argument advanced by Dr. Budde.² Space will not admit of our summarizing this argument, even in brief³; yet it is not too much to say that it amounts to a thoroughgoing refutation of Duhm's theory. In xlix. 1-6 the theory of the individual Servant can only be maintained by the excision of 'Israel' in v. 3b (an excision, it may be remarked, which spoils the rhythm); and even so the expression 'a covenant of the people,' used of the Servant in xlii. 6, xlix. 8, proves that at any rate the writer of these passages interpreted the ideal Servant not individually but collectively; since, whatever be the explanation of this difficult expression, it is scarcely possible that it should be applied to any single individual. Again, if the Servant described in lii. 13-14 be an individual, what are we to make of the statement that *after his death* he shall see a seed, he shall prolong days, and the pleasure of Yahwe

¹ In li. 5 Yahwe says, 'Mine arm shall judge the peoples.' In li. 9 'the arm of Yahwe' is apostrophized and exhorted to clothe itself with strength for the redemption of the exiles. These passages are anticipatory of lii. 10, 'Yahwe hath laid bare His mighty arm in the sight of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God'; and this again surely has in view the awestruck wonderment of the 'many nations' and 'kings' in lii. 15, and their exclamation 'unto whom hath the arm of Yahwe been revealed?' in liii. 1.

² 'The so-called "Ebed-Yahweh Songs," and the meaning of the term "Servant of Yahweh" in Isaiah, chaps. 40-55' (*American Journal of Theology*, Oct. 1899, pp. 499-540). This was published separately in German, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder*, in 1900.

³ A very full summary is given by Dr. Cheyne in *Encyc. Bibl.*, 'Servant of the Lord,' 4401 ff.

shall prosper in his hand? Granted, however, Budde's view that the nations which are individualized in lii. 15 are the spokesmen in liii. 1 ff., and that they are speaking of Israel as a nation, individualized in like manner as the ideal Servant, then the conception of the death and resurrection of the Servant can be brought naturally into connexion with other like passages in the Old Testament, Hos. vi. 1-3, Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14.

III

Assuming, then, that the ideal Servant of the songs is a collective personification, as elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy, let us see very briefly whether it is not possible to trace a consistent presentation of the office and work of the Servant throughout xl.-lv. as a whole.

The language used of Israel in the first passage (xli. 8 ff.) in which the nation is spoken of under the title 'Servant of Yahwe' implies very strongly the sense of *vocation*. The Servant has been 'chosen,' 'taken hold of from the ends of the earth, and called from the corners thereof.' This vocation means that Israel has been selected as the recipient of a special revelation, and is called to extend that revelation to the world at large. This is the meaning of the preservation of the nation through the exile; this is to be the purpose of the restoration which is so soon to take effect. We have this idea worked out in the first of the Servant-songs, xlii. 1-4. The Servant is described in xlii. 6 as given 'for a covenant of the people'—a very difficult expression in the original, and most probably to be explained as meaning 'a covenant consisting in a people,' or, more briefly, 'a covenant-people,' *i.e.* a people constituted to be the medium of God's relationship towards the world at large. This is a sense which is in accord with the parallel expression in the same verse, 'a light of the nations.' In xlii. 19 we find an expression used to describe the Servant which is rendered in the R.V. 'he that is at peace with me,' with two marginal alternatives, 'made perfect,' or 'recompensed.' Here the Hebrew expression is *meshullam*, a word which is the

equivalent of the Arabic *muslim*, 'the surrendered one,' or follower of *Islam*, *i.e.* the religion of 'surrender.' It is preferable therefore to assume that the Hebrew expression also means 'the surrendered one'; *i.e.* the Servant is, or should be, *surrendered to Yahwe*, the facile instrument of His will for the effecting of His purposes in the world.

Such is the ideal for the nation as a whole; but how different is the real. The Servant is blind and deaf to his vocation. Seeing many things, he observes not; his ears are open, but he hears not. Thus, when next we find the ideal Servant mentioned, *i.e.* in xlix. 1-6 where he is represented as speaking, it is clear that the conception has been narrowed down. The Servant is still Israel; for in v. 3 we read the statement 'He said unto me, Thou art my Servant; Israel in whom I will be glorified.' And yet not Israel as a whole, for v. 6 describes part of his mission (*i.e.* the preliminary part) as being 'to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel.' Here then we are dealing with an Israel within Israel,¹ the faithful worshippers of Yahwe upon whom the hope of the nation must be centred. The narrowing of the conception in this passage by no means implies, however, that the prophet has abandoned his ideal in regard to Israel as a people. Throughout the earlier section of his prophecy (*i.e.* down to the end of xlviii.) we may see him struggling with the fact that this ideal is not at present realized in the nation as a whole; but he is strong in his persuasion, or (it may fairly be said) *his conviction*, that the ideal *can* and *will* be realized in the near future. Chapter xlv. is very important in this connexion. We notice in vv. 1, 2 that the very same expression ('He that formed thee from the womb') is used of Israel's vocation as is employed in xlix. 5 of the vocation of the ideal Servant. Chapter xlv. 3-5 then goes on graphically to describe this moral regeneration, when the nation as a whole shall be dedicated to Yahwe. The culmination of the chapter appears to be reached in vv. 21, 22, where, after reiteration of the Servant's predestination for

¹ It is not easy to follow Dr. Budde in explaining this passage as referring to the nation as a whole.

his mission, there follow the gracious and tender words, 'I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins; return unto me for I have redeemed thee.'

In the second half of the prophecy (xlix. ff.) we read no more of the shortcomings of the actual Servant Israel, the prophet appearing to become more and more absorbed in the mission of his idealized figure. Chapter xlix. 8 employs the same expression 'a covenant of the people,' or 'a covenant-people,' which we have already noticed in xlii. 6; and here (in xlix. 8) it is brought into connexion with a description which speaks of the Servant as him whom man despiseth, whom the people abhorreth, a servant of rulers (v. 7)—a description which is doubtless intended to pave the way for the final scenes, l. 4-9, lii. 13-liii. 12.

It ought not to pass unnoticed that there is apparently a point of connexion between the unexampled sufferings of the Servant, with the explanation of them which is here given (liii. 5 ff.), and the opening of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy, xl. 2, where it is stated that Jerusalem has received at Yahwe's hands double for all her sins. It is a fact of history that Israel has sinned in the past and received punishment during the exile; but why has the penalty been so far in excess (double) of the crime? This is the problem of which we are to find the solution in the two last Servant-songs.

Let us briefly review these passages. Now at length it becomes quite clear that the mission entrusted to the Servant can only be accomplished through much suffering. His contemporaries fail to understand his steadfast purpose; he is greeted, not with enthusiasm, but with scorn and loathing. None like him has ever understood what sorrow means. He experiences to the full the sharp pain of isolation, the agony caused by the misinterpretation of the active sympathy which he has to proffer. Yet, in spite of all, he still persists. In the teeth of persecution he sets his face like a flint, for the Lord Yahwe is his helper, and he knows that he shall not be put to shame. Finally, in the pursuit of his aims, he voluntarily suffers a cruel death, allowing himself to be numbered with transgressors, and undergoing the death and burial of the worst of felons.

But it is through death that the purpose of his life is worked out. His death is a guilt offering: his sufferings are vicarious. Yahwe has been pleased to smite him in order that his blood may become the seed of a renewed community. Thus he is pictured as rising again from the dead, and as gazing with satisfaction upon the result of his labours, knowing that, through his uttermost surrender, God's purpose has been accomplished to the full.

As regards the speakers in chap. liii., we have already remarked that they appear to be—not other Israelites who are speaking about a select few (or a single figure) within their own nation, but—the heathen nations of the world who are speaking about the nation of Israel, regarded here as a righteous unit. That is to say, the prophet's conception is again fitted to embrace in the mission of the Servant the mission of the nation at large. It is not a question of the redemption of the nation of Israel by its righteous members, but of the redemption of the world at large by the nation of Israel. This seems to be clear if we pay regard to the introductory words of the section (lii. 15):—'So shall he (the Servant) startle¹ many nations; kings shall shut

¹ The rendering of R.V. *marg.* is here adopted, as at any rate preferable to that of A.V., R.V. *text*, 'sprinkle.' The Hebrew verb *hizzā*, 'sprinkle' (*lit.* 'cause to spirt'), only governs an accusative of the liquid sprinkled, and cannot be followed by an accusative of the object sprinkled with the liquid, as in English. Hence, the idea which A.V., R.V. *text* suggest to the English reader, *viz.* 'sprinkle' in the sense 'purify,' cannot be extracted from the Hebrew, the only possible meaning which the Hebrew verb can convey being that the nations are sprinkled (caused to spirt) like a liquid—which is absurd. It may be doubted, however, whether the sense 'startle,' which has been supposed to be justified through comparison of an Arabic root, can really be maintained; and probably the best that can be said for this rendering is that it is agreeable to the context, and gives a sense which we may suppose (judging by the parallel clause) to be akin to that which was intended by the writer. LXX renders the clause οὕτω θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ [ἐπ' αὐτῷ], which suggests that the Hebrew יִהְיֶה is a corruption of some such verb as יִתְמַהוּ of which 'many nations' is the subject:—'So shall many nations marvel.' This is favoured by

their mouths at him: for that which they had not been told they see; and that which they had not heard they contemplate.' And then immediately follows the description, which gives voice to the astonishment of these heathen nations and their kings.¹

Nor need we be surprised if the ideal Servant, who in xlix. 5, l. 10 seems to represent a righteous nucleus *within* the nation of Israel, should here come once more to answer to Israel as a whole. The measure of the nation's religion is found in its faithful members, be they many or few; they represent the nation charged with a mission to the world at large: and regarded thus, in relation to the other nations of the world, as the conservator of the true religion, Israel as a whole is the righteous nation, and may be ideally invested with the attributes of Yahwe's Servant.

We conclude, then, that the Servant of Yahwe, as he figures in Is. liii., represents primarily Israel as a nation, passing through the sufferings and vicissitudes of the exile, and, as it were, emerging from the tomb at the restoration from captivity in order to become the instrument for the

the parallelism of the succeeding clause, and by comparison of xlix. 7:—

‘Kings shall see, and arise;
Nations, and they shall worship.’

The *ἐπ' αὐτῶ* of the LXX rendering is due to a mistaken division of the clauses, and really belongs to the second clause.

¹ A good parallel for the verb *התבוננו* ‘they contemplate or consider diligently,’ followed immediately by the speech which expresses the result of this contemplation, is furnished by Is. xiv. 16:—

‘They that see thee shall look narrowly upon thee,
They shall consider thee diligently:
“Is this the man that made the earth to tremble,
That did shake kingdoms?”’

The only valid objection which, as the text stands, can be advanced against taking liii. 1 ff. as the words of the ‘many nations,’ of lii. 15, viz. the expression *כַּפְשֵׁי עַמִּי* ‘for the transgression of my people’ in v. 8, disappears under Budde's convincing emendation *כַּפְשֵׁינוּ* ‘for our transgressions,’ with which cf. v. 5.

redemption of the world. While adopting this view, we are not debarred from the supposition that the prophet may have drawn details which go to form his picture from the actual experiences of a particular righteous sufferer for the Faith of Yahwe, such as was Jeremiah.¹

The explanation here put forward of the conception of the Servant of Yahwe, assuming as it does that the Servant-songs form an integral part of Deutero-Isaiah's thesis, regards them therefore as the prophet's own composition. It is not, however, inconsistent with the view which has been so ably advocated by Dr. Whitehouse (*Commentary* ii. Introd. § 2) that the songs are the work of an older prophet who lived during the middle and most gloomy period of the exile, and that his disciple Deutero-Isaiah incorporated them into his own prophecy.

IV

We may now pass on to notice the view put forward by Dr. Kennett as to the composition of these chapters, and the conception of the ideal Servant which they contain. Dr. Kennett, obsessed as he is by the theory that the greater part of the Book of Isaiah is the product of the Maccabaeae age, *i.e.* the middle part of the Second century B.C., finds in the picture of the ideal Servant a personification of the *Hasîdîm* or 'pious ones,' *i.e.* the party composed of the faithful worshippers of Yahwe who resisted to the death the attempt made by Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenize the Jewish nation and to stamp out the true religion. This

¹ In order to avoid the possibility of misapprehension, it may be added that this interpretation of the *primary* significance of the figure of the ideal Servant in no way ignores the great truth that the prophecy finds its ultimate fulfilment in the Incarnation and Passion of our Lord. Indeed, the fact that in these chapters the figure of the Servant takes the place of the figure of the Messianic King of earlier prophecies, and the boldness of the lines in which the Servant is depicted as an individual, make the conclusion well-nigh irresistible that already to the prophet it was revealed in some mysterious way that his conception was to find fulfilment in one great *Person*, the Redeemer of the world—a point emphasized by Drs. Driver and G. A. Smith and other scholars.

theory of the Servant, which is worked out by Dr. Kennett, so far as space allows him, in the third of his 'Schweich Lectures' (cited hereafter as *Sch.*), is treated in greater detail in the small book entitled *The Servant of the Lord* (cited as *Serv.*) which appeared in the year following the publication of the 'Schweich Lectures,' and which concerns itself wholly with this subject.

Now the discussion of Is. xl.-lv. which we have just concluded has aimed at shewing that the prophecy is an organic unity—a view which, as we have noticed, represents the deliberately expressed opinion of a large number of scholars whose names are most prominently associated with the criticism of this portion of Isaiah. It is true that Dr. Duhm and his school take the view that the Servant-songs are a later addition to the work of Deutero-Isaiah, added soon after the return from exile, and separable from the prophecy as a whole. This is the view against which our argument has, in the main, been directed. It is important, however, to notice that the scholars who hold this view have no doubt in their minds as to the essential connexion in thought and argument which runs throughout the greater part of Deutero-Isaiah's work.¹ Thus Dr. Cheyne remarks in his 'Introduction' (p. 277): 'At any rate the section chaps. xl.-lv., or the main part of it, possesses a unity of its own.' Mr. Box holds that 'Chapters xl.-xlviii., apart from some inserted matter, clearly form a single writing' ('Isaiah,' p. 179); and with regard to chaps. xlix.-lv. he says, 'Phraseologically these chapters can hardly be distinguished from xl.-xlviii. Such slight differences as do exist may easily be explained as due to the difference of themes treated, and to the later date of writing.' This is the opinion to which a

¹ Apart from the Servant-songs, and the links by which they are connected to the main prophecy, Duhm regards the whole of xl.-lv. as the work of Deutero-Isaiah with the exception of xlv. 9-20, xlv. 6-8, the working over of xlviii. 1-11, xlviii. 17-19, lii. 3-6, and a few scattered glosses consisting of verses or half verses. With this criticism Mr. Box is in essential agreement. Dr. Cheyne now limits the work of Deutero-Isaiah to xl.-xlviii, but agrees with Duhm in his criticism of this section.

microscopic examination of the text of Isaiah has led scholars who may be said to belong to the more advanced school of criticism.

Dr. Kennett appears to have approached the subject in rather a different manner. Clearly he has hit upon his theory of a Maccabaeian date for the Servant-songs first of all through observation of what appears to him their appropriateness to the circumstances of the *Hasîdîm* as known to us from 1 Maccabees. But since these songs are, as we have noticed, closely related in thought to Deutero-Isaiah's work as a whole, it follows that the assignment of the former to the Second century B.C. naturally carries with it the conclusion that a considerable part of the latter also dates from the same age. Unfortunately for the theory, the figure of Cyrus as the coming deliverer of Israel from captivity bulks largely in the first half of the prophecy; and from beginning to end of it the approaching restoration forms one of the principal themes. The only method of maintaining the new theory in the face of these difficulties is to argue that Is. xl.-lv., so far from being a connected whole, as former misguided critics, judging from historical, theological, and literary standpoints, have ventured to conclude, is a mere mosaic of totally unconnected fragments.¹

It would be a tedious and unprofitable task to discuss at length the arguments by which this amazing theory is supported. Lecture I. of *Serv.* deals with the conception embodied in the term 'Servant of Yahwe,' and argues, through a very brief examination of earlier writings (*i.e.* such writings as are admitted by Dr. Kennett to be earlier), that the conception that Israel has a message to the Gentile world cannot have come into existence prior to the time of Alexander the Great (B.C. 332). This line of reasoning is clinched (*Serv.* pp. 26 f.) by a circular argument as to the Book of Jonah. 'The circumstances of the time of Alex-

¹ Dr. Kennett's proposed distribution of these chapters between the period of Cyrus and the Maccabaeian period is summarized in *Sch.* pp. 84 f. To the former period he assigns xl., xli. 1-7, 21-29, xliii. ('in the main; but with considerable later modifications'), xliv. 9-20, 24-28, xlv. 1-13, xlv. ('in the main'), xlvii., xlviii. 12-15, 20, 21; to the latter period all the rest.

ander the Great made it possible for Israel to have a wider, more liberal outlook than, humanly speaking, was possible in the days of the Persian rule, or at any earlier period'; therefore the Book of Jonah is in all probability to be assigned to this period. Since the Book contains 'a rebuke of the exclusive spirit of Judaism, and an appeal to the Jews to recognize the Gentiles as objects with them of Jehovah's care and love, we are able to date sufficiently accurately the beginning of a consciousness of a mission in the chosen people.'

In Lecture II. Is. xl.-liii. is reviewed, and arguments are adduced in proof of the fragmentary theory of authorship. According to this theory we have here no case of the union of two or more divergent but continuous and parallel documents, such as we find in the narratives of Genesis and the succeeding books; nor is it a case in which interpolations have been made in an otherwise continuous prophecy by a later hand, upon the view that they were appropriate to the context or would serve for the encouragement or warning of the author's contemporaries. Dr. Kennett's view appears to be that a series of wholly unconnected fragments, existing previously no one can say how, have been brought together without rhyme or reason by an editor who was actuated by no better motives in his arrangement than a fancied resemblance in subject-matter, or a merely verbal coincidence. Lecture II. of *Serv.* deals only with the passages which the author thinks must be later than the time of Cyrus; but turning to 'Schweich Lecture' II. (pp. 30 ff.) we find that the passages which are to be referred to the time of Cyrus must themselves be regarded as a mosaic of originally unrelated fragments.

The first passage which it is proposed to divorce from its context (*Serv.* p. 33) as unsuitable to the period of the exile is xli. 8-20. The grounds adduced are that 'if this passage really belongs to the time of Cyrus, it is the earliest passage outside the Pentateuch (except Ezek. xxxiii. 24, where Abraham is mentioned as an example of blessing) in which Abraham is mentioned as the ancestor of Israel; for Micah vii. 20 is almost certainly post-exilic; and the

words "who redeemed Abraham" in Isaiah xxix. 22 are probably an interpolation.' Secondly, exception is taken to the statement that Yahwe has taken Israel from the ends of the earth, as inappropriate to the time of Cyrus. 'The language can scarcely refer to the call of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees' (as scholars generally suppose), though it is admitted that in Is. v. 26 the Assyrians are said to be summoned from 'the end of the earth,' for 'it is hard to suppose that a Jew *living in Babylonia* would have described it as "the ends of the earth." Moreover, due weight must be given to the fact that here we have the *plural*, not "end" but "ends" (!). The conclusion is that 'The expression would be equally inapplicable to the exodus from Egypt: it would, however, be perfectly suitable if applied to a return from the Dispersion.' Has Dr. Kennett no sense of the literary hyperbole which is permissible to the poet as he transfers himself in thought to the Promised Land which was Abraham's goal, and from that ideal standpoint views his far off birth-place, from which 'he went out, not knowing whither he went'?

It is, however, scarcely necessary to review *seriatim* the arguments which are advanced in proof of the fragmentary theory; since it may safely be said that there is not one of them which is likely to carry conviction. On p. 43, for instance, we find another example of the circular argument: xliv. 5 'seems to be a reference to the conversion of the Gentiles, a thought which certainly did not come into *prominence* till later than the time of Cyrus.' Similarly (p. 54) 'It is improbable that during the Persian period the nation ever supposed that Jehovah had commanded, or would command, His servant Israel to preach His Law to the Gentiles.' As to xlv. 14-17, 'it is very doubtful whether any of the verses of which it is composed originally stood in juxtaposition.' Probably hundreds of students of Isaiah have been struck by the prophet's wonderfully beautiful conception in xlv. 1-3, that, while the idols of Babylon cannot compass their own safety but require to be 'borne' and 'carried' on the backs of beasts of burden, it is Yahwe, on the other hand, by whom His people Israel have been

'borne' and 'carried' from their birth and onwards. For Dr. Kennett, however, 'verse 3 has been placed by an editor, who was perhaps himself the author of it, after v. 2, simply because' the words 'borne' and 'carried' occur in both (!). What is the value of a criticism which approaches such sublime poetry without a spark of the feeling which is necessary for its interpretation? True, we cannot all be poets; yet happily it *is* given to most of us to recognize true poetry when we see it, and to feel, if only slightly, the thrill which it creates.

We may conclude our notice of this Lecture by reference to the treatment which xlv. 1-7 receives at the hands of Dr. Kennett (pp. 51 f.). This is a passage which refers to Cyrus in the character of deliverer, and also alludes (v. 4) to Israel under the title 'Servant': 'For Jacob My servant's sake, and Israel My chosen.' We are told that

'if the words "chosen" and "servant" implied a choice in order to fulfil some special mission, we should expect to find in the immediate context an account of this mission. In the passage before us the whole stress is laid upon the mission of *Cyrus*, and it would, therefore, be contrary to Hebrew idiom to refer *by the way* to a mission of Israel. The words "My servant" and "My chosen," which, of course, refer to Israel, must therefore be used simply to explain the *mission of Cyrus*. In other words, Jehovah has given Cyrus the victory for the sake of His people Israel, who stand to Him in a special relation, viz. that of servant. Israel is thought of as one who is, so to speak, attached to the household of Jehovah; one who stands in the same relation to Jehovah as a courtier, who not only has free access to a king, but receives the *special protection* of the king.'

Surely all this is an extraordinary example of special pleading. The fragmentary theory has been decided; therefore there can be no reference to the larger context, in which, according to common interpretation, the Servant's mission to the Gentiles is to be the direct outcome of the release from captivity effected through Cyrus.

Lecture III., which deals with the text of the Servant-songs, need not detain us here. Lecture IV. is concerned with investigation of the historical circumstances best

suited to explain the conception of the ideal Servant ; and here (p. 100) we meet with a passage which casts a strange light upon Dr. Kennett's method of examination. He informs us that

'It is unnecessary to discuss pre-exilic dates, for both the success which the Servant is said to have achieved, and his attitude towards the Gentiles, are incompatible with what we know of the pre-exilic period ; *moreover it is almost universally admitted that the prophecies which we have been considering are later than the exile.* Our inquiry is therefore narrowed down to the time after the exile, or, to state it more definitely, to the period after the time of Cyrus.'

It is the passage which we have italicized to which we desire to draw attention. So far from its being true that such an admission is 'almost universally' made, we may count among the present generation of scholars who (against Dr. Duhm and his school) assign the Servant-songs to a period before the close of the exile, Drs. Driver, G. A. Smith, Skinner, Ottley, Peake, Whitehouse, and Wade in Great Britain, and Drs. Budde, Wellhausen, Smend, Stade, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Marti, König, and Kautzsch abroad. This list makes no claim to be exhaustive ; there are doubtless other well-known scholars who hold the same opinion ; but such names as we have quoted are more than sufficient. We may well ask what Dr. Kennett means when he makes his sweeping assertion. He cannot be ignorant of the opinion of these distinguished scholars : he cannot (one would suppose) be adopting the strange assumption that the weight of this opinion is so insignificant that it may safely be ignored.² It is easy, however, to perceive the practical

¹ To works cited in this and the preceding article we may add Budde, *Gesch. der althebr. Litt.*, 165 f., 1909 ; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* (3^e Aufl.), 155, 1897 ; Smend, *A. T. Religionsgesch.* (2^e Aufl.) 352 f., 1899 ; Stade, *Bibl. Theol. des A. T.*, i. 307 f., 1905 ; Cornill, *Introd. to O. T.*, 'Isaiah,' § 21 [E.T. 1909] ; Ottley, *Religion of Israel*, 1905 ; Peake, *Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, 1904 ; Giesebrecht, *Der Knecht Jahwes des Deuterojesaja*, 1902 ; König, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation*, 1899 ; Kautzsch, 'Religion of Israel' in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, V. p. 707, 1904.

² Exactly the same method of argument was employed by Dr.

convenience of the position which assumes that no opinions as to the date of the Servant-songs need be discussed except such as place them *after the exile*. For it is precisely the problem of proving that the conception of the ideal Servant is inappropriate to *the circumstances of Israel in exile* which would have formed a real crux for him had he really attempted to grapple with it.

But criticism of Dr. Kennett's arguments, and discussion of the points which are raised by his theory might well be endless. We have already run to a great length without so far having touched the question upon which the complete theory may be said to turn.

V

Dr. Kennett, as we have seen,¹ regards more than half the whole Book of Isaiah as the product of the Maccabaeian age, and would date the elements which go to form this portion of the Book from B.C. 170 to 141. Is it conceivable that the pre-existing Book of Isaiah can have been so radically altered at this late period? This is the problem which calls for answer; the lines along which it invites consideration must be indicated as baldly and briefly as possible.

There can be no doubt that the Old Testament really contains literature which belongs to the Maccabaeian period.

Kennett (*Journal of Theological Studies*, xii. p. 117) in reply to a statement of the present writer's that the occurrence of the phrase 'Harosheth of the nations' in Judg. iv. 2, 13, 16 indicates that the phrase 'the district of the nations' in Is. ix. 1 was in use from early times. Dr. Kennett remarks:—'But unless Dr. Burney maintains that Judges iv. is older than 722 B.C., in which few modern students of the Old Testament will agree with him, this latter part of his argument is of no force.' As a matter of fact, the three greatest modern authorities upon the Book of Judges are Moore, Budde, and Lagrange; and all these scholars regard Judges iv. as belonging to the earlier strata of E, the written form of which they would date not later than 750 B.C. and the traditions therein contained indefinitely earlier.

¹ C.Q.R., April 1912, p. 104 note.

The Book of Daniel certainly dates from this age ; and it cannot reasonably be doubted that the same is true of many of the Psalms. These, however, belong to the third division of the Canon, the *Kethūbhīm* or Sacred Writings, which was not finally closed until the synod of Jamnia which was held *cir.* A.D. 90.¹ It cannot so easily be assumed that the *Prophets* received large accessions of material so late as the Maccabaeian period, since the fact is generally recognized that the two earlier divisions of the Canon—the *Law*, and the *Prophets*, were finally settled at a period very considerably anterior to the Christian era.

At this point, then, we turn to the evidence which is afforded by the prologue to Ecclesiasticus. The author of this prologue, who translated the work of his grandfather Ben-Sira from Hebrew into Greek, tells us that he came to Egypt in the 38th year of Euergetes. There were two Ptolemies who were surnamed Euergetes ; but since the first of these only reigned twenty-five years (B.C. 247–222), the reference must be to the second who reigned, partly as regent and partly as sole king, for fifty-four years (B.C. 170–116), and whose thirty-eighth year was B.C. 132. The translator goes on to tell us that when he had continued some time (*συνυχνήσας*) in Egypt, he found a copy of his grandfather's work affording no small instruction, and thereupon did his best to translate it into Greek. Exactly when this translation was made we cannot say for certain. It may have been only a few years after B.C. 132 ; or possibly not until the close of Euergetes' reign in B.C. 116.² The interest which the date possesses for us in the present connexion is due to the fact that the translator, in pleading for a favourable consideration of his effort, and a lenient judgement of its shortcomings, makes use of the following

¹ Even so late as A.D. 125 there was a dispute as to the canonicity of the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, which was settled by reference to the decision of the council of Jamnia ; *cf.* Budde, *Geschichte der althebräischen Litteratur*, p. 2.

² Mr. Hart (*Ecclesiasticus in Greek*, p. 259) suggests that *συνυχνήσας* means, ' I stayed in Egypt so long as King Euergetes reigned.' *Cf.* reference as given by Dr. Kennett, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 80.

words—' For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them, when they are translated into another tongue : and not only these, but the law itself and the prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no small difference when they are spoken in their original language.' Thus we learn that both Ben-Sira's grandson and those for whom he made the translation of Ben-Sira's work were familiar with the threefold division of the Hebrew Canon, and that the books composing the Canon had already been translated into Greek. We are justified also in supposing that the way in which the writer appeals to the translations of the Canonical books indicates that these translations were very familiar to his readers, and had therefore been in use for some time ; and further, the reference to ' the law and the prophecies ' as distinct from ' the other books ' is surely evidence which points to the fact that the first and second sections of the Canon were definitely fixed and closed, and had been so fixed and closed prior to their translation into Greek. If, then, ' the Prophets ' had been canonically fixed and subsequently translated into Greek for some considerable time prior to B.C. 116 at latest, can this be thought consistent with the theory that the Book of Isaiah, as we know it and as it appears in the Septuagint, consists (as regards its greater part) of matter which was the outcome of events which happened between B.C. 170 and 141 ? Dr. Kennett maintains the possibility of a redaction subsequent to this date. ' How long the process of redaction lasted we cannot say, but there is certainly no great difficulty in supposing that it may have been finished in, or shortly after, the year 140 B.C.' (' Schweich Lectures,' p. 78). Such a conclusion may satisfy him ; but is it likely to command the assent of anyone else ?

We may, however, go behind Ben-Sira's grandson, and consider the evidence which is afforded by Ben-Sira himself, who by common consent is supposed to have flourished between B.C. 190 to 170. And first we should notice that the grandson at any rate assumes that his grandfather knew the Hebrew Canon in its threefold form. He begins his prologue,

‘Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law, and the prophets, and by the others that have followed in their steps . . . my grandfather Jesus, having much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers, and having gained great familiarity therein, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to instruction and wisdom.’

Unless therefore the grandson is making a mistake, so early as prior to B.C. 170 the first two divisions of the Canon had assumed their final form. Turning to chap. xlviii. 22, xlix. 6, 8, 10, we find that Ben-Sira enumerates Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve prophets among the Hebrew worthies, just as they stand in the Hebrew Canon.

It is of the greatest importance to notice what Ben-Sira tells us about Isaiah in xlviii. 23-25.

23. ‘In his days the sun went backward ;
And he added life to the king.
24. By an excellent spirit he saw the last things,
And he comforted them that mourned in Zion.
25. He shewed the things that should be to the end of
time,
And hidden things or ever they came to pass.’

Here the reference in v. 23 may reasonably be taken to imply that Ben-Sira’s book of Isaiah already contained the historical chapters xxxvi.–xxxix. which, as is well known, must have been ultimately extracted from 2 Kings. It is usually assumed (and probably rightly so) that these chapters were not added until cc. i.–xxxv. were complete in their present form. Still, as Dr. Kennett remarks (*Serv.* p. 118), we cannot be certain whether Ben-Sira ‘derived this fact from the book of Isaiah or from the book of Kings.’

But why does not Dr. Kennett pay more attention to the statement of v. 24a :—‘By an excellent spirit he saw the last things’? He remarks indeed (*Sch.* p. 78) that ‘Isaiah was honoured as the prophet of consolation, and as one who had received special knowledge of “what should come to pass at the last.”’ But he does not even attempt to explain the fact that what impressed Ben-Sira with regard

to Isaiah more than anything else (*cf.* also v. 25), was that 'he foresaw the last things' (εἶδεν τὰ ἔσχατα). But what are these 'last things' except what we term the *eschatological passages*, *i.e.* the Messianic passages in the first half of the book, such as ii. 2-4¹, ix. 1-7, xi. 1 ff. etc., and such a passage in the second half as the final Servant-song which describes so vividly the issue of the mission of the ideal Servant? Yet these are the very passages which, as we have seen, Dr. Kennett is most concerned to bring down to the Maccabaeian period, and to the latest part of *that* period. If then these passages do not describe the last things which Isaiah foresaw by an excellent spirit, where are the passages which *do* describe them? Dr. Kennett is silent. He has no reply.

Of course Dr. Kennett cannot get over the fact that v. 24b, 'And he comforted them that mourned in Zion' is a direct reference to Is. lxi. 1-3. He therefore assumes (*Sch.* p. 31; *cf.* p. 40) that this prophecy in its *original* connexion was a soliloquy put into the mouth of Cyrus. But how and why it came to be separated from the Cyrus prophecies and incorporated in the section of the book which is known as Trito-Isaiah Dr. Kennett does not explain. As a matter of fact, consensus of opinion regards this passage as modelled on and therefore as presupposing the Servant-songs of Deutero-Isaiah.

A further point bearing on the subject which should not escape our notice is that the writer of 1 Maccabees is much impressed by the fact that at the period with which he is dealing *prophecy had altogether ceased*. No prophet came forward to speak in the name of Yahwe; nor was such a prophet known to exist. This fact is three times over commented upon in 1 Maccabees (iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41). In the same way, a Maccabaeian Psalm, lxxiv. 9, deplors this fact of the absence of prophecy:—

'We see not our signs;
There is no more any prophet;
Neither is there any among us that knoweth how long.'

Yet Dr. Kennett would have us believe that all the time

¹ Note the introduction: "Οτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἔσχαταις ἡμέραις.

there were in existence prophets who dealt with the events of the times in prophecies as impressive and beautiful as anything that is contained in the Old Testament. Are we to suppose that they kept these prophecies secret until they had incorporated them into the book of Isaiah here, there, and everywhere to the detriment of the earlier arrangement of the work, and then succeeded in gaining general acceptance for this new book of Isaiah in place of the slender roll which was previously current under this name? This point also can scarcely be said to have been made clear.

Reference to the cessation of prophecy in the Maccabaeian age leads us on to our last point. We know as a matter of fact that the absence of prophecy at this period seems to have been largely responsible for the rise of a new type of literature which took its place, *viz.* Apocalyptic. Into the characteristics of Apocalyptic it is unnecessary to enter. We need only notice that one such characteristic was the taking up of older prophecies which were supposed still to remain unfulfilled, or not to have been fulfilled in their largest sense, and the interpreting of them in a new way, sometimes literalizing symbolic language, at other times allegorizing statements of fact. A familiar instance of this method is seen in the case of Jeremiah's prophecy of restoration. Jeremiah had promised (xxv. 11, xxix. 10) that after seventy years Israel should be restored to their own land, and had used language which seemed to imply that this restoration was immediately to be followed by the Messianic age. The author of the Apocalyptic book of Daniel explains this seventy years as really seventy weeks of years (chap. ix.) Sixty-nine and a half of these weeks having, in the author's opinion, already elapsed, there remained only half a week, *i.e.* three and a half years ('a time, times, and a half,' Dan. xii. 7). It goes without saying that prophecy which was so treated was already of old standing, and was studied with the reverent attention which is due to canonical 'Scripture.'

Now there can be little doubt that Dan. xii. 2, 3 deals with passages in Isaiah in this way. In v. 2 the famous

passage referring to the resurrection to a future judgement states that 'many of those who sleep in the land of dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to reproaches, and everlasting abhorrence.' The word here rendered 'abhorrence' is in Hebrew *dērā'ōn*, a remarkable word which only occurs elsewhere in Is. lxvi. 24, the passage upon which it is universally acknowledged that the Apocalyptic idea of a penal Gehenna is based. The Daniel passage continues (v. 3): 'And they that deal wisely shall shine forth as the brightness of the firmament; and they that make many righteous as the stars for ever and ever.' Here the expression '*they that make many righteous*'¹ can scarcely be anything else than a reference to the passage in Is. liii. 11, which, in speaking of the ideal Servant, says 'by his righteousness shall my righteous servant *make many righteous*.'² This conclusion is strengthened if we observe that '*they that deal wisely*'³ at the commencement of the verse is a reminiscence of Is. lii. 13, '*Behold, My Servant shall deal wisely*.'⁴ Here, then, it may fairly be claimed that we have the earliest known interpretation of the conception of the ideal Servant, referring it to the righteous nucleus within the nation who had perished as martyrs for their Faith. The evidence afforded by this passage of Daniel thus goes to shew that two distinct passages in the Book of Isaiah, and one of them from the most important of the Servant-songs, could be quoted as Scripture of old standing at the very period which, according to Dr. Kennett, is supposed to have given them birth.

Our conclusion then is that Dr. Kennett's theory fails at all points at which it can be tested, and should not seriously affect the future developments of Isaiah-criticism. It is obvious that an extended argument such as is contained in this and the preceding articles, dealing as it does largely with matters of detail, may run the risk of involving itself in misunderstandings of particular points. If in any respect this has been the case, the writer desires to express his

¹ מצדיקי הרבים

² המשכילים

³ יצדיק לרבים

⁴ הנה ישכיל עבדי

regret to Dr. Kennett, and would heartily welcome his correction. He feels, however, that the questions raised by Dr. Kennett in his recent works are of such importance as to demand a full and outspoken discussion.

C. F. BURNEY.

ART. VII.—THE RECONSTRUCTION OF WORSHIP.

1. *The Chronicle of Convocation . . . of the Province of Canterbury.* (London: National Society's Repository and S.P.C.K.)
2. *The Chronicle of Convocation . . . of the Province of York.* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd.)
3. *Code of Canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.* (Edinburgh: Grant and Son. 1912.)
4. *The Prayer Book Dictionary.* Editors, G. HARFORD, M.A., and M. STEVENSON, M.A. Assistant editor, J. W. TYRER, M.A. With a Preface by the BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd. 1912.)
5. *Prayer Book Revision.* By ATHELSTAN RILEY. 'Alcuin Club Tracts.' (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1912.)
6. *Liturgical Interpolations.* By the Rev. T. A. LACEY. 'Alcuin Club Tracts.' (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. 1912.)
7. *The Church Year and Kalendar.* By JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., late Bishop of Edinburgh. 'Cambridge Handbooks of Liturgical Study.' (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1911.)

8. *The Ancient Church Orders.* By A. J. MACLEAN, D.D., Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness. 'Cambridge Handbooks of Liturgical Study.' (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1911.)

And other works.

THERE is at the present time a great and growing need for a general study and discussion of the best methods to be employed in public worship. The Church seems to have reached, and reached simultaneously in many places, a stage in which such reconstruction is imperative. On all hands we see two features emerging. First, a desire for enrichment and greater convenience in the traditional methods of service; and secondly, a great reluctance to make any change, and this not merely from conservatism such as is natural, but also from the fear that changes if made may not be wisely made. The result of each of these is the need already mentioned for careful reconsideration of our present methods and deep study of the ways of worship. While those who are most eager for reconsideration are slowly laying the lines of fresh proposals, those who are less forward need also to be taking up the question, following out and trying to understand the changes as they formulate themselves in the minds of the advanced guard of change, correcting them where need be, or accepting them where that is possible, but in any case keeping closely in touch. Only by such means as these can a proper corporate advance be made.

It may be well to realize how far spread this movement is. At home in England we are most familiar with what has been done in Convocation, though it may be doubted whether the actual proposals and discussions in the Houses of Convocation have been followed by intelligent Church-people as closely as they should be.

The Lower House of Canterbury has done most to lay its programme, as it has evolved itself from time to time, before the public. In consequence it has borne the brunt of the attack and criticism. It may console itself by reflecting that, whether or no its particular proposals prove

ultimately acceptable, it has done a very important preliminary work in raising interest, meeting criticism, and preparing the way for further discussion. The Upper House of Canterbury has at present revealed much less of its mind to the public. Those who have followed its proceedings in recent years will not fail to see that an immense deal has been going on, the fruits of which are not yet evident. Reports of Committees have not yet been published since the report upon the 'Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers,' published four years ago. But from the discussions in the Upper House in July of last year it is clear that much is going forward. Already at that point a very important decision on the subject of the Ornaments Rubric was provisionally reached, and the lines were indicated which will probably bring about a solution of that difficult question. For the four points therein contained are really the four things that are essential: (1) that the rubric should not be altered (unless indeed as time goes on some concordat comes into view which is not now above the horizon); (2) that it should be interpreted as sanctioning both the existing uses; (3) that changes in the use should not be made arbitrarily but under proper sanction; and (4) that it should be made clear that no alteration is thereby intended, or effected, of the balance or limits of eucharistic doctrine existing among us.

The proceedings of the Convocation of York have unfortunately attracted less attention. The work done by the Lower House needs certainly to be considered side by side with that of the Lower House of Canterbury. The recent debate in the Upper House attracted more attention because of its reactionary character; for it came as a surprise to find that some, at any rate, of the northern bishops imagined that the clock could be put back, or that the question of the Ornaments Rubric could be settled in the manner of forty years ago. The Archbishop of Canterbury has clearly indicated the need for a fusing of the results of the work done in all these four separate sections; and (if one were to venture to prophesy) one of the plainest results of that fusion will necessarily be, that the sane position

adopted by the Upper House of Canterbury will win the day.

We turn now away from England to take a glance over the border where already much has been done that gives English Churchmen the lead. The Episcopal Church in Scotland has long been an example to England in the matter of its liturgy; and now that that liturgy has been reviewed and placed in a strong canonical position, its importance and its effect on other branches of the Anglican Communion must needs become all the greater. The progress in Scotland has gone a great deal further than this. In the appendix of the 'Code of Canons' published last year the twenty-ninth section contains 'Permissible additions to, and deviations from, the Service books of this Church.' The policy, that is to say, has already been adopted which many have advocated for the present stage of reform in England, namely, that changes should not be made in the text of the book, but authority should be given in certain respects to vary from the book by addition and alteration on clearly indicated lines. No doubt such an expedient is a temporary one. This, however, is no objection to it, but the contrary. Authorized experiment seems what is needful at the present juncture; and authorized experiment is exactly what is here facilitated. Of the fourteen subsections some are probably only temporary, and may yield to further changes in the not distant future. All probably are to be viewed as an interim provision. For example, the dealing with the Psalter and Lectionary is probably experimental, and may need further alteration. On the other hand, some of the provisions here given will probably justify themselves so well, that after an experimental period they will pass into the body of the Service books, and will receive a final canonical sanction. Some handling of the Litany, such as that which is now permitted, will probably be permanent, whether in this form or in something similar; that is to say, that it will be regarded as ending properly with the Lord's Prayer together with the prayer of St. Chrysostom and The Grace, though other suitable devotions may be added between the prayers mentioned. A large number of fresh

prayers for such a purpose as this are given in subsection 4, which greatly enrich the intercessory part of the service. Similarly enrichment is provided for the Eucharist, such as (a) some Post-communions, either general or allotted to a particular day or season; (b) some further Epistles and Gospels with the beginning of a 'Common' in the form of a Collect, Epistle and Gospel 'For the festivals of St. Kentigern, St. Patrick, St. Columba and St. Ninian'; (c) seven Proper Prefaces, one of them generally available for Feasts of Apostles and Evangelists. Even for the newly authorized form of the Liturgy there is further elasticity provided; and there is considerable enrichment of the occasional services. Such points as these shew the direction in which movement is taking place. The whole series deserves close study.

A paragraph may perhaps be allowed here for a slight digression on the subject of one of these permissions, namely that which authorizes the shortening of the words of administration. It runs as follows:

'When it is thought desirable to shorten the words of administration on Christmas-day, Easter-day, and Whitsunday, or on special occasions approved by the Bishop, or in the case of the pressure caused by large and unexpected numbers, the Priest, having first said the whole words of administration (in the singular number) once for all the communicants, may use the first half of each form in communicating individuals.'

This may be a desirable expedient for the moment, but it seems likely that ultimately some new shortened form will prevail which fuses the existing formulas by eliminating repetitions. For example, some such fusion as this may be suggested:

'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.'

'The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee preserve thee. Drink this in remembrance that He died for thee, and be thankful.'

The whole material is thus preserved; nothing is sacrificed, but a considerable curtailment is effected.

If we now look away from the British Isles, we find the movement for reconstruction manifesting itself in the Colonial and Missionary Churches. In Canada a General Synod has appointed a Committee on Prayer Book Adaptation and Enrichment, and last year it sent out a paper of questions to the clergy and the lay members of the General Synod inviting suggestions for change. Such a procedure opens the door very wide. It looks as if every page of the Prayer Book and every detail of worship were being submitted to revision by plebiscite; but in fact a restriction is set upon this process by three limitations which the General Synod has imposed upon the Committee, namely—

(1) To introduce 'no change, in either text or rubric, which will involve or imply a change of doctrine or of principle.'

(2) To make only such changes 'as are necessary to meet the requirements of the Church of England in Canada.'

(3) To keep within the lines laid down in Resolution 27 of the Lambeth Conference of 1908.

It is characteristic of a young and vigorous country that it should be eager to move ahead and to move so fast. If this rapidity and this sense of self-sufficiency somewhat alarms us at home, we may take comfort in the fact that the Canadian bishops in their Advent pastoral modify the threatened pace:

'Any attempt to revise the Book of Common Prayer (which has been tested by generations of use, and which embodies the spiritual wisdom of the ages) must be made with becoming reverence, and with a deep sense of the great issues at stake.'

The Church in South Africa has been making its own move more tentatively and on sound lines. It has recognized that we are in a period of experiment, and therefore certain experiments are being temporarily authorized. In one diocese at any rate permission is given for a shortened form of Sunday morning service; for some omissions in the Holy Communion service, and for a shorten-

ing of the words of administration ; for additional Epistles and Gospels. A revised scheme of Psalter for the month is issued as permissive, besides additional Proper Psalms ; and so forth. The movement is quite definite, though less conspicuous than the Canadian one.

Some of the same features recur in the schemes that are under consideration by the Japanese Church. The General Synod of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui in China has a committee on special services, and another has since been appointed to prepare a new Lectionary. And these may stand as leading examples of the way in which Missionary Churches are bound, perhaps even more than others, to be carried along by the current of reform.

So far we have considered only our own Communion ; but the significance of the great changes that are taking place in the Roman Catholic Service Books cannot escape attention. To a certain extent those changes are conservative. So far as the music is concerned, deep and wide study is being bestowed on the recovery of the best possible text of the Roman Plainsong Chant of the early Middle Ages. But side by side with this, an innovating movement has manifested itself, dramatic in its swiftness and also in the boldness of its innovation. The new Psalter recently promulgated throws over entirely the ancient Roman apportionment of the Psalms, abolishes the tradition of thirteen or fourteen hundred years, and substitutes for it a new arrangement of the Psalter based upon the experiment in the Gallican Breviaries of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries. The spirit of the Congregation of St. Maur has triumphed over the tradition of St. Gregory. The reform, moreover, is not to end here with the altered Psalter, nor even is it confined to the new regulations for the conduct of the Breviary offices which are issued with the Psalter. A great change is projected in the lessons of the Breviary. Such a work of revision has long been going on—indeed it can hardly be said to have ceased ever since the Tridentine Reform ; but now, instead of intermittent or individual labours we have a new and almost startling move. The Congregation of Rites has sent a circular letter to all

Ordinaries and to the Heads of all Orders and Congregations which have their own Breviaries, calling upon them severally to appoint committees of learned men who shall revise the historical lessons contained in their own particular books. All such projects of revision are to be sent in to the Congregation of Rites, with the intention no doubt that on such a basis a general scheme of revision shall be effected.

Such indications as these coming from all quarters justify us in saying that we live in an era of liturgical ferment. We are in the swirl of one of those movements which strangely develop themselves, one hardly knows whence, and propagate themselves throughout the civilized world, one hardly knows how, and lead to immense transformations. This is the significance of the present moment in the world of worship, and it is well that we in England should realize that we are sharing in a world-wide movement, and not merely being agitated by local unrest.

This movement moreover is a gradual development and not a crisis. At intervals in the process of evolution some specially difficult point is reached, and excitable people or newspapers speak about a crisis ; but the word in fact is barely justified. We are in the middle of a long and slow movement. The American authorities were wise and fortunate enough to spend twelve years in the revision of their Prayer Book. The Roman authorities at this moment anticipate that their reform of the lessons in the Breviary will take thirty years. Some similar estimate is no doubt in the minds of wise reformers in England ; and though it might be well to make experimental changes—a few of them, such as all would value, speedily or even at once—the whole process of discussion and experiment must be allowed a long time before any crystallization of permanent results can be wisely attempted.

If these are the conditions of the moment, it is highly desirable that they should be widely recognized. Not merely must students and Church authorities be alive to them, and be spending pains and study on the problems, but it is essential that the Church at large should have, in its own way, and according to its own measure, its opportunities

of study and of partaking intelligently in the anxieties and experiments. Reform can only be made with the hearty co-operation of an instructed public. Everything therefore must be welcomed which enables the large and interested public to acquaint itself with what is being done, to reconsider in its own way the present methods of worship, and to form a public opinion of its own, which will be a necessary corrective to the views of ecclesiastics and experts. The part to be played by the average worshipper is a very considerable one. Ecclesiastical authorities or scholars may have the first say in the matter, and propound such methods as seem to them good. But history shews how all along the good propounded to the general congregation by its authorities has always been modified, and is always now being modified, by the instincts or obstinacies, by the knowledge or the lack of knowledge, by the devotion or the lack of devotion, of the congregation as a whole. A necessary part therefore of the movement is the provision for the general Church public of suitable opportunities for arriving at an instructed judgement in these matters.

Such opportunities are now being multiplied. Henceforward there will be no excuse for an intelligent English Churchman not to make himself familiar with the Scottish Office, and ponder over his own liturgy in comparison with that liturgy. For many of our communicants such a simple task will be a perfect revelation. At the same time they will do well if they enlarge the scope of their studies to include also the Schedule of permissible deviations, of which already mention has been made; for that can equally well be procured and is also well deserving of study.

A further large addition to our facilities is represented by the 'Prayer Book Dictionary.' We live in an age of dictionaries, and it is a characteristic modern convenience to be able to look up any point that arises, by merely referring to the alphabetical arrangement of subjects provided in a dictionary. The new venture therefore may be heartily welcomed, as belonging to the spirit of the times and for its many technical excellencies. Great pains have been spent over the work of editing, the arrangement of the material

and the printing ; so that it serves as a very manageable and practical volume. Naturally the greater part of the material contained in it is familiar to those who have made a study of such matters. The task of the authors was not to provide new views based on original investigation but to set out in a convenient and accurate form the ordinary current information. The editors were fortunate in being able to secure for such a task a strong staff of men drawn from very varied quarters. The list of contributors reveals the names of Churchmen of every type, as well as of some writers who are not Churchmen, but who write as experts upon their subject, such as the Rev. W. T. Whitley, who describes the Baptists, or the Rev. W. F. Moulton the Methodists.

We are not so sure that the staff of contributors has been well utilized. A good deal of the best work is done in connexion with the shorter topics and is found in the shorter articles ; the longer ones in many cases are less satisfactory. No doubt it was difficult for the editors to determine what should be included in a Prayer Book dictionary, but we are inclined to think that they have enlarged their scope unnecessarily, almost to the point of making the title ' Prayer Book Dictionary ' an unsuitable one for the volume. They seem in fact to have sought to provide an answer for any question that an enquiring Churchman is likely to put, and in that respect to have aimed rather at providing a Church Dictionary than a Prayer Book Dictionary. In other places they seem to have wished to give the parson such legal information as he would more naturally look for in a book of ecclesiastical law ; for the admirable series of legal articles travels far away from the law which is specially connected with the Prayer Book. Again, what have we to say to twelve and a half columns devoted to the subject of the ' Anglican Communion,' or to eleven columns devoted to the subject of ' Authority,' and containing nevertheless hardly anything about Liturgical Authority ? And a list of superfluous and irrelevant articles might easily extend to a considerable length.

A great deal of this space might well have been spared,

and room been made for a less superficial treatment of some of the really liturgical topics. In this connexion we would venture to suggest that the editors have taken too narrow a view of their scope. They have confined themselves too literally to the Prayer Book and its services, to the exclusion of the great general liturgical field of which it forms an inseparable part. It would have been an immense gain if the book could have included, in a shortened form, some such dissertations upon the different Rites as are given in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie*. They would have enlarged the reader's outlook and done more than satisfy his immediate curiosity. Indeed it is disappointing to see how little such a masterly work has been used. In the better articles, in the earlier part of the book where the two Dictionaries run parallel, it frequently shews itself to have been of service ; but in many others, and those among the most important, there is no sign that the French Dictionary was utilized by the writer. In fact a good deal of the work seems to have been done by contributors whose first-hand knowledge of matters liturgical was confined to the English Prayer Book. Their articles therefore lack grip and depth.

However, with these reservations made, the book may be warmly commended ; and many who will find it too expensive for their own shelves will probably secure its admission to the reference shelves of the local library, where we hope that it may be in constant use.

Before passing on to consider other opportunities for liturgical study now made available, we must call attention to special articles in the Dictionary which contain new and original work. Of these there are a considerable number, among which the following stand out pre-eminently :—the series contributed by the Bishop of Moray, Dr. Joyce's article on Casuistry, Canon Simpson's on The Lord's Supper, Mr. Freshfield's on Plate, Mr. Thompson's two on Prayer Books, Canon Wakeford's on Preaching, among Canon Wordsworth's that on Reservation ; and for the rest several by Mr. Pass, Rev. W. C. Bishop, Rev. E. F. Morison, Rev. E. A. Wesley, and the Bishop of Hull ; but out of the

number we can only take three groups or pairs for fuller consideration.

The two articles by Dr. Headlam concerning the ministry thoroughly deserve such special treatment. The article on Episcopacy is a very successful attempt at summing up the present state of inquiry with regard to that difficult topic; and it deserves to be read side by side with Mr. Turner's fine chapter in the *Cambridge Medieval History*. His other article, upon Apostolic Succession, will probably give rise to greater discussion; and indeed the subject is one upon which it is desirable that a considerable clearing of mind should take place. In this respect Dr. Headlam's article will be very valuable. He treats the topic systematically (*a*) on the historical side and (*b*) on the dogmatic side, after first calling attention to the change that has come about in the English High Church views during the last fifty years. Whereas older Tractarians, like Haddan, made episcopacy an essential part of the succession, the modern High Churchman is content to regard the succession itself as being the essence, and the exact form of the ministry only secondary. In handling the historical question Dr. Headlam gives a brief analysis of the data, and then draws the following conclusion:—

'So far as the historical facts go, it is reasonably certain that the officials of the Christian Church have from the beginning been appointed by laying on of the hands of those who have been themselves so appointed. The fact of historical succession going back to the Apostles or "other men of repute" of the Apostolic time is probably true. On the other hand, a succession through a monarchical episcopacy cannot be held to be proved.'

In the doctrinal section he distinguishes four ideas connected with the word 'succession.' First it need mean no more than an orderly sequence of officers, such as the series of Roman Consuls. But the Church has always meant more than this. Secondly, it is an Apostolic Succession; that is to say there is a commission derived from the Apostles, and this also is included in the conception. Thirdly, as the result of this, the successors of the Apostles perform a large

and permanent part of their original apostolic functions, and succession implies such continuity of function. Fourthly, in recent times there has been brought to the front the idea of succession as the transmission from hand to hand of an original gift of grace received by the Apostles. This last view Dr. Headlam criticizes, and indeed it is vulnerable. It seems to have little ancient precedent and it tends to become purely mechanical, especially when expounded by similes such as those of a pipe or an electric wire conveying something from a reservoir, or power station, by mechanical derivation. Such a theory was indeed a very natural one for people who held a similar view of God's operation in other respects; who thought of Him, *e.g.*, in creation as giving an original impulse and then leaving things. Such a temper of mind was common in the days when this theory came to the front, but it is not the temper of mind of to-day, nor that of ancient days. It belongs to that particular period of the Nineteenth century when a mechanical view of physical laws was over-influential in theological thought. The gift of ministerial grace is not a simple matter of transmission, but rather is a gift of God at each ordination, granted to the Church for its nominees through its authorized agents. In other words, the continuity of succession is more a safeguarding fact or practice than a theory. It is valuable as a fact because it protects the validity of the sacrament of Orders; and validity is always what the Church has to consider in safeguarding its public functions. That God should give ministerial grace otherwise is theoretically indisputable, and practically has been proved true. But what the Church is concerned with is not the possibilities of the case but the security; and therefore, together with the doctrinal view that the grace is a gift of God at each ordination given through the hands of (normally) the Bishop as the recognized executive Church officer, there has also been historically the continuous care taken to maintain an unquestionable succession of such officers. Thus the Church secures the validity of its ministry, and tells its children that they can trust in its security; but it does not deny that ministerial

grace may be given under less secure conditions. It is not therefore transmission that has to be emphasized, but the gift of God given at ordination through official hands. Such a doctrine of apostolic succession is the ancient one of the Church in pre-Reformation times ; and it also explains the attitude of the post-Reformation divines to Protestant ministers abroad. The English Church said in effect :

‘ We have to secure our own ministers and the validity of the ministry in the fullest way that we can. We therefore maintain a valid episcopacy and insist upon episcopal ordination. But we do not on that account deny that God may be giving gifts of ministerial grace to congregations of faithful men, and through them to their ministers, where episcopacy and the traditional succession has not been maintained. Such a procedure is too insecure for us to approve, but we have great sympathy with people who in existing circumstances have that and nothing better.’

A further objection to the crude idea of transmission is that it is too mechanical. The ancient Church, right on into the Middle Ages, refused to regard a person consecrated to the episcopate by three people who had themselves been consecrated bishops, as being himself necessarily a bishop. A mechanical theory of transmission would have demanded that they should regard him as inevitably a bishop, however deplorably so ; and indeed in consequence of the prevalent mechanical doctrine of a transmission we are inclined to take this very line now. In ancient days, however, the Church, before accepting him as a bishop, wisely asked, not merely whether the consecration had been done, and been done by bishops, but whether it had been done by the Church, and the real Church, and with real Church sanctions, and without moral or canonical lets or hindrances, such as simony and the like. And unless it was satisfied on such points, it treated the Order given as null. The result of this policy in an age of faction and of great moral disorder was, no doubt, to throw ordinations into a complete chaos. The state of the Roman ordinations in the Ninth century is a classical instance of this ; and probably it was

in consequence of this great and sad object-lesson that the Church began to take a more mechanical view, and to extol the machinery above the moral and spiritual side of the matter. But the Church of to-day has to learn from such precedents as these ; and one of the things most needed at the present time is such a consideration of the whole doctrine of Orders as shall enable us to maintain all the real essence while escaping from narrow or mechanical conceptions, such as may have been useful in days past, but certainly are not so now.

Another piece of original work in the Dictionary which requires some treatment is the elaborate handling of the Ornaments Rubric, and the ceremonial questions surrounding it, by Canon Harford, one of the editors. It cannot be said as fully as in the previous case that the result is a success. It is well known that the whole circumstances of the Elizabethan handling of ceremonial in the first ten years of the reign abound in inconsistencies. And these press especially heavily on those who, with a lack of historical outlook, would seek to maintain that the view of law and its exigencies in those days was the same as that of the lawyers of the Nineteenth century. The historian knows quite well that this is not the case, and that questions of policy and expediency continually were allowed to influence the interpretation of law in a way which would not be tolerated. The misfortune of the modern lawyer is that he has tried to make out the lawyers of the Sixteenth century to have been as careful as he is himself, and the legal authorities of that day to be as independent of administrative pressure as the Law Courts are to-day. No wonder he has been perplexed in trying to handle the historical problem. From this legal point of view three attempts have been made to make sense of the historical data.

First, it has been maintained that vestments other than those of 1552 never were legal, the familiar printed rubric having no statutory authority and being in fact inoperative.

Secondly, it is said that the law was altered by the Injunctions of 1559, especially No. 30, and its administrative enforcement in the Royal visitation.

Thirdly, the Privy Council has decided that the law was first altered by the Advertisements of 1566.¹ Thus the opponents of the legality of the Edwardine vestments are divided. They cannot agree as to the date when they became illegal, and are thus in the same position as Roman Catholic controversialists who wish to maintain that a new Protestant Church began at the English Reformation, but cannot agree as to when or by what authority.

These three views are quite incompatible with one another and the arguments in favour of them are mutually destructive. Canon Harford, however, seems, if we have rightly grasped his meaning, to try to maintain all three. There is a good deal that can be quoted as evidence for either of the three views, but what seems totally impossible is to try to support a combination of the three. There is no room in the limits of this article to discuss fully the way in which this attempt is made. At every three or four lines in the course of two long articles one would have to pull up and protest against the use or the omission of evidence. But it may be said in general that the writer seems to have failed partly through his open-minded fairness. He sees in turn the strength of individual arguments and wishes to give them full force; he sees, for example, that the enforcement of the surplice, and, as he and the lawyers would say, the consequent prohibition of any other vestment, was going on before the Advertisements precisely in the same

¹ An additional piece of evidence against this judgement, not hitherto weighed, so far as we know, is to be found in Parker's later form of preaching licence. It seems to recognize only one alteration as having been made by Royal authority in the prescribed usages up to December 1567: 'Admonentes te serio et in domino obsecrantes ne in sermonibus tuis contenciones de rebus iam constitutis vel suscites vel spergas neve alterationem vel innovationem quamcunque in doctrina aut ceremonijs (preter eam quam Regia majestas auctoritate publica hactenus fecit) suadeas.' Parker *Reg.* I. f. 267 v^o. If this is so, there can be little doubt that the one change recognized is that of the Kalendar effected with every due formality in 1561, and operative so that all future issues of the Prayer Book were conformed to it. Beyond this, it would seem, no other is known to the Archbishop, who has recently issued the Advertisements.

way as afterwards, and he seems to feel how strongly this tells against the Privy Council Judgement. He therefore puts back the alteration of the law to the Injunctions of 1559; evidence forces him to do so. But here again difficulties arise in his way (and there are others which he does not notice),¹ which again force him backwards, to adopt the other contention, namely that the rubric of 1552 ordering the surplice only, which ought legally to have been reprinted in 1559, was the only order that had a really legal position. So he attempts to maintain this side by side with the contention that it was the Injunctions that altered the law; and as he must be loyal to the Privy Council he notes further that the alteration actually took place in 1566. It is a brilliant *tour de force* to try to unite the divided forces of opposition by maintaining three inconsistent propositions. The attempt is interesting, though the exposition of it is exceedingly puzzling, because one never knows for which at the moment the author is arguing; but it cannot be called successful.

We have space only for one piece of detailed criticism. Canon Harford seems, like others who have gone before him, to have been led by his antipathy to the chasuble to lose sight of the cope²; and it is the cope and the wearing of the cope which is the real clue to the whole proceedings. If the surplice alone was legal by statute, how account at all for any early use of the cope? If it was legal under the Act of Parliament but made illegal by the Injunction, again how account for its continued use? We can only suppose that Canon Harford would reply that it was illegal in 1559 and became legal in 1566. In that case he has to account for two things: first, why it was worn in the days when it was illegal; and secondly, how is it conceivable that, in view of the tremendous opposition to all vestments—even the surplice—the cope which was illegal in 1559 should have been

¹ See one of them well stated by the Bishop of Exeter in the Dictionary, p. 410.

² It makes one rub one's eyes to read (p. 517²) 'there is no evidence of the ritual use of the vestures disused in 1552 anywhere after the establishment of the Prayer Book.'

prescribed by the Bishops on their own authority (against the law) in the *Interpretations* of 1561? or, if he will not admit them, should have been ordered for the first time after seven years of bitter controversy in 1566. Is it not simpler to say that the continuous wearing of the cope has all along been an attempt to preserve as much as possible of the original order which authorized the vestments of 1549, and that this accounts more than any rival theory for what was done, and not done, in this respect in Elizabethan times, and also in 1662? Of the two alternatives, the cope and the chasuble, the latter, though legal, was practically made an impossible option, while the former, at any rate in theory and in particular places, was maintained.

Some may be inclined to regret the amount of space that has been given to a piece of ancient controversy in this Dictionary. We are not altogether of that opinion. It was probably quite a good plan that the position should be stated by one who believes the vestments to be legal, as is done in Mr. Staley's four columns on the Ornaments of the Minister, while at the same time the rival view that they are illegal should have the best case made out for it; and in that sense we welcome Canon Harford's twenty or thirty columns on the subject. But in point of fact is it not becoming increasingly clear that the policy of the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation, already alluded to, is the right one—that the rubric should remain as it is, and be cleared of all doubts by some fresh order, authorizing the existing uses, to be taken by the Crown and the Archbishop, and preceded perhaps by a resolution of the House of Commons desiring that this should be done?

Our third group of articles for detailed consideration deals with a very different topic. Mr. Robert Bridges makes a valuable and much-needed attempt to reform the singing of Anglican chants in his two articles entitled 'Chant, Anglican,' and 'Chanting.' The former of these is historical and gives for the first time a reasoned and authentic account of the evolution of the Anglican chant. In a sense the way was clear for it when certain of the Gregorian tones were harmonized, for, externally at least, they easily fell into the

form so familiar to us in the present day. Mr. Bridges, however, points out two significant facts: first, that as a matter of history the Anglican chant did not grow immediately out of such harmonized Gregorians, but there was a long period of further experiment needed before the form was ultimately reached. Next the reason for this is made clear by the second fact to which attention is called, namely that the inner rhythm of the two chant-forms is absolutely different. The Latin chant belongs to the Latin cadence, which has essentially a strong penultimate syllable, while the English chant only became conformed to the English rhythm when it finally gave up the attempt to preserve a strong penultimate in the music and accommodated itself to the English cadences, in which predominantly the ultimate syllable has the strong accent. He traces out some stages of this evolution and gives many interesting examples. One might wish that he had made more use of the common chanting tunes provided in the Eighteenth century Psalm-books, for in them the evolution is particularly clear. In a single long-lived book like Chetham's *Psalmody* (first published in 1718) one can see the old protean chanting tune, with its many shapes and varied rhythms, giving way at the beginning of the Nineteenth century to the prim and rigid form of the barred Anglican chant. The history is valuable for its practical as well as its archaeological worth; and Mr. Bridges in his second article takes up the practical side and expounds a system by which the primness and rigidity of the chant may be overcome. In spite of his clear exposition the system looks complicated, and the choir-boy or choir-man might well be daunted by it. The choir-master, however, ought certainly to understand it, and make it his own; and then in practice he will find that because of its eminent reasonableness it will soon commend itself and even seem simple to any member of a choir, man or boy, who has any sense of rhythm. A good deal of the difficulty is caused by the barring of the chant, and indeed it is not quite clear why Mr. Bridges does not advocate a return to the older method of not barring the chant at all. To strike out the bars would at any rate get rid of some of

the false impressions and false accents which the ordinary barred chant produces. If our musicians would go one step further and write their chant also with a symbol for the notes, which does not imply any time value, an enormous further simplification would be effected. For it is herein that the value of the Gregorian notation consists. The notes represent no time value; they may be long, or they may be short; they may be grouped in triplets, or even represent the syncopate triplets, which Mr. Bridges elaborately notes in modern notation; and they represent all these things far more simply. It would seem as if the logical outcome of Mr. Bridges' method would really be a return in these two respects to the Gregorian method of notation, while keeping of course the form of chant and scheme of accents which is suitable to the English language and not the Latin one. The Anglican chant can never hope to be as plastic as the Gregorian tone: its desire for melody rather than recitation, and its dependence upon fixed and unyielding harmonies must alike prevent that. But on such lines as these it might at least acquire a larger freedom of rhythm, and might more often interpret instead of obscuring the sense and movement of the words.

While it is desirable that the chants should in this way be made to reproduce the real English rhythm, it is also equally desirable that in any revision of the Psalter due regard should be had, not merely to securing good English rhythm in general, but that particular form of good English rhythm which combines best with the Anglican chant. So far as can be seen from a cursory glance at the revised psalms set forth by a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury, little, if any, regard has been paid to this so far; and it would be well that any Committee which further deals with the matter should be authorized to co-opt, or at least consult and defer to, the opinion of such a master of English rhythm and music as Mr. Bridges himself.

In conclusion we may call attention to two other projected series, which furnish additional facilities for the study of questions connected with worship and for the formation of an instructed public opinion about them. The Alcuin

Club has a programme for a special series of tracts of which hitherto only one has appeared ; but besides, in its ordinary series of tracts there is one by Mr. Riley with an important bearing on Prayer Book Revision. These tracts will find their way into places where the bulky Dictionary cannot penetrate.

More valuable still is the expectation raised and already partly made good by the Handbooks of the Cambridge series. The subjects handled by the two existing volumes are not the most attractive to the novice or the general student. More central topics will doubtless be dealt with in later issues. But both Bishop Dowden's book on the Kalendar and the Bishop of Moray's on the Church Orders are full of importance and interest.

The Kalendar is one of the prerequisites of the Church system of worship. Its main lines are doubtless fixed, but in this sphere too, more than one call for reconsideration and reconstruction is making itself heard. Outside ecclesiastical circles the demand is gaining force for a simplification of the year (1) by the fixing of Easter, and (2) by treating the odd 365th day of the year that is over and above the 52 weeks as an exceptional day, lying outside the system of weeks altogether ; so that the relation of the week to the year shall always be the same, and the relation of the day of the week to the day of the month shall be invariable. Three such projects have been examined and reported on by a Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury.

Within ecclesiastical circles a different sort of Kalendar reform is popular, mainly one concerned with a reconsideration of the Saints' Days. Some settlement of the question thus raised must necessarily be found before the further question of additional provision for Black Letter Saints' Days can be decided. For these reasons amongst others the study of the Kalendar is urgent.

Can the same be said of the Church Orders ? They seem remote and are certainly tiresome and intricate ; but they are a source of invaluable information which no student of liturgical origins or history can afford to neglect. And with the Bishop of Moray as his guide he will soon find his

way through the main difficulties and be shewn some at least of the outstanding features.

While we wait for the further Handbooks that are forthcoming, we may be well employed in mastering these.

W. H. FRERE.

ART. VIII.—THE BANISTER-THOMPSON CASE AND THE LAW OF THE CHURCH.

1. *Banister v. Thompson*: in the Court of Arches. 'Law Reports' [1908], Probate 362. (London: The Council of Law Reporting.)
2. *Rex v. Dibdin*: in the King's Bench. 101 'Law Times Reports,' 106. (London: Horace Cox. 1910.)
3. *Rex v. Dibdin*: in the Court of Appeal. 101 'Law Times Reports,' 722. (London: Horace Cox. 1910.)
4. *Rex v. Dibdin*: in the King's Bench and in the Court of Appeal. 'Law Reports' [1910], Probate 57. (London: The Council of Law Reporting.)
5. *Thompson v. Dibdin and Others*: in the House of Lords. 'Law Reports' [1912], Appeal Cases 533. (London: The Council of Law Reporting.)

THE number of this Review for January 1908 contained an article on 'The Law of the Church and the Law of the State,' the immediate occasion of which was the passing of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act, 1907. In it we said: 'The . . . Act, as ultimately enacted, sufficiently regards the principles which we have endeavoured to maintain. In altering the civil law of marriage it respects the law of the Church. It requires no Churchman either to do anything which the law of the Church forbids, or to leave undone anything which the law of the Church enjoins.' The construction which the Courts of Law have since placed

upon the Act has shewn that this language was incorrect, or at least needs qualification. We believed, in common, we think, with most people, that, except in the one matter of allowing (without requiring) the clergy to celebrate the marriages which the Act made lawful, the change of the law affected secular matters only, and left wholly untouched the rights and duties both of the clergy and laity of the Church as such. It has proved, however, that whereas before the Act passed a parish priest not only might, but ought to, have repelled from the Holy Communion any of his parishioners who had contracted a marriage within the degree in question, he is now forbidden by law to do so. We propose to explain the history of this decision, and to examine its scope and effect.

The litigation which has now ended in a judgement of the House of Lords originated in a suit brought in the ecclesiastical court by a Mr. Banister and his wife against Canon Thompson, who was at that time Vicar of Eaton in the City of Norwich. Mrs. Banister was the sister of her husband's deceased wife, and had gone through a ceremony of marriage with her husband a few days before the passing of the Act of 1907. The ceremony was performed in a Presbyterian church in Canada, whither the couple had gone for the purpose, apparently with some confused notion that they could take advantage of the fact that such marriages, which were then still unlawful in England, were allowed by Canadian law. This marriage ceremony, which was, of course, a nullity when it was performed, was by the retrospective operation of the Act made good 'as a civil contract,' and when Mr. and Mrs. Banister returned to England they demanded to be communicated in their parish church, of which Canon Thompson was incumbent. He gave them notice that he would refuse them Communion, and they thereupon instituted a penal suit against him in the ecclesiastical court for having without lawful cause repelled them. It is fair to Canon Thompson to quote a sentence from the judgement of the Dean of the Arches: 'The defendant appears to have treated the promoters throughout with courtesy and consideration, and to have

acted, in the course he has taken, upon the advice of the bishop of the diocese.'

For the purposes of this article the special circumstances of the case, which certainly do not place the promoters of the suit in any particularly meritorious position, are immaterial. It was agreed in all the Courts that the question for decision was the general one, whether the Act of 1907 has effected a change in the right and duty of parish priests as to the admission to Holy Communion of persons who have contracted a marriage in which one party is the wife's sister of the other. The documents upon which the question turns are few. The rubric at the beginning of the Communion Service in the Prayer Book gives the only cause of summary repulsion relevant to this point which the Church of England recognizes, namely, open and notorious evil life. We need hardly say that this does not mean that this is the only thing for which a person may be excommunicated by sentence. It is the only cause for which a parish priest may (and should) of his own motion repel. It was admitted on the part of the promoters in the Court of Arches that before the passing of the Act cohabitation between a man and his wife's sister, domiciled in England, came within the words of the rubric, whether or not the parties had gone through a form of marriage. We do not clearly gather from the judgement of the Dean of the Arches whether he was of this opinion or not. In view of the admission made, the question was not argued before him. But it is expressly either assumed or decided, both in his judgement and in those of the secular courts, that apart from the Act what Canon Thompson did would have been right; and indeed we find it difficult to imagine how there can be any doubt on this point. If cohabitation which is declared both by canon and statute to be incestuous is not evil life, we do not know what is. No one could doubt that it was so where no form of marriage had been used, and it cannot be that a form which was a mere nullity, without any validity whatever, made any difference. We come then to the Act. Having made marriage with a wife's sister lawful 'as a civil contract,' it adds this proviso: 'Provided always that

no clergyman in holy orders in the Church of England shall be liable to any suit, penalty, or censure, whether civil or ecclesiastical, for anything done or omitted to be done by him in the performance of the duties of his office to which suit penalty or censure he would not have been liable if this Act had not been passed.'

The case of the respondent in the Arches Court may be summarized thus: Apart from the Act, these people were living in incest, and were doing so openly and notoriously; they were consequently open and notorious evil livers within the rubric, evil life meaning there, not what any particular man, or the average man, might so describe, but that which is forbidden by the moral code of the religious body whose rule is in question: the respondent therefore was not only entitled, but bound, the day before the Act passed, to repel the promoters had they presented themselves for Communion: now the Act expressly says, first, that the marriages which it sanctions are to be good as civil contracts only; and secondly, that it is to make no clergyman punishable for doing that which he might lawfully have done if it had not been passed: the position of the parties as to admission to Communion is therefore unaffected by the Act: the status of the promoters remains for ecclesiastical purposes evil life, and may and should be treated by the respondent accordingly. The answer of the promoters was in substance that it was impossible by artificial reasoning to make cohabitation by those whom the law regards as man and wife 'evil life,' and that in the absence of express enactment no construction of a statute could be admitted which had that result. The Dean of the Arches in effect adopted this contention. As his weighty judgement shews, he was conscious of the difficulties involved in the acceptance of the argument of either side, difficulties which naturally ensue when on such a matter as marriage the laws of Church and State are brought into conflict.

It is necessary now to explain how the case came into the secular courts. There is here happily no question of encroachment by the secular courts on the ecclesiastical; both jurisdictions have in this case been exercised in accordance

with settled principle. It has always been accepted in this country that the construction of the statutes of the realm is a matter for the secular, and not for the ecclesiastical, courts; and accordingly, although the ecclesiastical courts may properly construe a statute if a case which is within their jurisdiction involves the construction of it, this construction is provisional only, and any party may challenge it by applying to the Courts of Common Law for a writ of prohibition. This jurisdiction is exercised over ecclesiastical courts only, and does not apply to those inferior secular courts to which the writ of prohibition lies. If the secular courts come to the conclusion that the construction of the statute by the ecclesiastical court is erroneous, they prohibit it from proceeding further. If they think it right, the judgement stands. It was this jurisdiction which the English Church Union, who after the termination of the proceedings in the Court of Arches assumed the conduct of Canon Thompson's case, invoked. They alleged that the Court of Arches had misconstrued the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act by holding that the proviso which we have set out above did not protect Canon Thompson from ecclesiastical censure for having repelled from Communion as evil livers those whose marriage, otherwise unlawful, was by the Act made valid. This allegation was rejected by the King's Bench Division by a majority of two judges against one, and unanimously by the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords; and the judgement of the Court of Arches accordingly stands.

It is important to notice that the construction of the proviso was the only question properly before the secular courts. They had no jurisdiction over the case in any other respect. It is also to be observed that the procedure assumes that if the proviso were construed according to the respondent's argument he would have acted within his rights. In other words, it assumes that apart from the Act he had both the power and the duty to repel the promoters. If not, no question as to the construction of the Act could have arisen. The judgements in the King's Bench Division and the Court of Appeal are of considerable length, and

some of them go into a good many topics which are not strictly relevant to the matter in hand, and as to which, if we may say so, the opinions of the learned judges are not of any particular importance. The real ground upon which the writ was refused was that which we have already mentioned, namely that nothing but unambiguous words could be allowed to empower a clergyman to treat persons as open and notorious evil liver merely on the ground that they had contracted a marriage which, though formerly illegal, was by Act of Parliament lawful and valid. This is a broad and intelligible position, and one for which obviously there is very much to be said. It would have been better if the judges in the two lower courts had confined themselves to it, as those who heard the appeal in the House of Lords in the main did. It seems to us that the attempts made by one or two of the judges to support the conclusion by a detailed examination of the language of the statute was singularly unsuccessful, and that on this aspect of the case the dissenting judgement of Mr. Justice Bray is very difficult indeed to answer. In other respects some of the judgements delivered, particularly in the Court of Appeal, are greatly to be regretted. It would be well if judges would follow the example of Lord Loreburn: 'I desire,' he said, in advising the House of Lords in this case, 'to say no more than is necessary for the decision of this appeal, knowing that upon such subjects as have been discussed here and in the courts below it is easy to give needless offence to deep and sincere convictions upon matters which affect private conscience.' But for the present purpose, however strong may be the temptation to criticize the utterances of some of the judges, the matter of importance is not their unfortunate and unnecessary excursions into regions obviously unfamiliar to them, but the decision to which they came on that which it was their business to determine, namely the construction of the Act of Parliament submitted to them. No doubt, as the powerful judgement of Mr. Justice Bray shews, competent lawyers may reasonably entertain on legal grounds an opinion opposite to that which the Courts have adopted, but it is really quite useless to go into this. The

tribunals whose office it is to construe the statute have construed it, and there is an end of the matter. Neither do we propose to comment upon the dissertation delivered by the Dean of the Arches on the discipline of the Church with regard to admission to Communion. It appears to us to be altogether a mistake for a judge to go out of his way to discourse upon difficult questions which have not been argued before him, and on which, in view of admissions made in the case, it is unnecessary for him to pronounce any opinion.

We do not say that the Act and the decision upon it have not given Churchmen just cause for anxiety; but we believe that an exact view of their scope will tend to shew that the difficulty is less serious than it is by many thought to be: and we regret the unnecessary elaboration of the arguments and judgements in the case, because it makes this exact view difficult, and obscures a position which is really simple. The question, and the sole question, in view of the assumption made by all the judges in the case, was this: Has the Act of 1907 removed from the category of open and notorious evil livers, for the purposes of the rubric, persons who have contracted a marriage which it makes lawful? If such persons were not in the category before, the whole discussion as to the meaning of the Act was superfluous; for (as to this matter) no change has been made by it, and no difficulty is caused by it: it is wholly out of the case. On this hypothesis we have been in exactly the same position ever since the rubric was framed, and indeed, inasmuch as the rubric merely represents the law of the Church as it has been at least since the days of Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas, for a very much longer period: and the position apparently is that persons are to be repelled from Communion not for open breach of any ascertainable code of morals, but for doing what the public opinion of the time thinks specially scandalous, provided (as it seems) that that opinion is shared by the rest of Christendom. Whatever may be thought of an hypothesis which leads to such a conclusion, it is clear that it involves no difficulty arising from the action of Parliament, or the relation between Church and State. We return to the real question, and the real facts.

The Act (it is said), as construed by those who have authority to construe it, compels, so far as law can compel, a parish priest to admit to Communion those who have done that for which it was his duty before the Act to repel them. Parliament, a lay body, composed in great measure of those who reject the doctrine and discipline of the Church, has interfered in her most sacred mysteries, and imposed upon her an alteration of her rules as to admission to them. This is to state the case at its worst. Is the statement accurate? Is it true to say that a man who went through a form of marriage with his wife's sister was to be repelled before 1907, because he had contracted a sexual relation of a particular kind, or because he was living with a woman as his wife who was not his wife? Again: Is marriage with a wife's sister wrong in itself, a breach of the immutable law of God, a violation of the essential elements of the divine institution of marriage; or is it a thing which can be allowed by the Church, by way either of particular dispensation or of general enactment? These questions are closely connected, and the answer to be given to them must affect, perhaps must decide, the view which we take of the situation created by the decision which we have been considering. All Churchmen would, we suppose, agree that there are certain things which are essential to the Christian conception of marriage. It must be monogamous, it must be permanent, either absolutely, or subject to dissolution, if at all, for grave cause only. But can we say the same of the degrees of affinity and consanguinity within which marriage is forbidden? We know that the law of the Church as to them has in fact been materially altered from time to time; that since the Reformation the law of the Church of England as to them has differed materially from that of the rest of the Western Church; and that, in the Churches which acknowledge the jurisdiction of Rome, marriages within the prohibited degrees, including that with a wife's sister, are allowed on payment of a moderate sum for a dispensation. Apparently, moreover, none of the Protestant bodies which reject episcopacy recognizes any difficulty as to marriage within this particular degree, or, so far as we

can gather, questions the right of the secular power to settle for Christians the degrees of affinity and consanguinity within which marriage is not allowed. It is no doubt a possible opinion that though the Church, (or perhaps the State), may modify the law of prohibited degrees, yet it is essential that the degrees of affinity should be the same as those of consanguinity: that (for example) a man should not be allowed to marry his wife's sister or niece, if he is not allowed to marry his own. But this opinion, based as we conceive it to be on syllogistic deduction from the saying of our Lord that man and wife are one flesh, is not carried to its logical consequence. If man and wife are one for the purposes of the law as to the prohibited degrees, the same logic which forbids marriage with the wife's kindred by blood would also forbid marriage with her connexions by marriage within the same degrees. A man might no more marry his wife's sister-in-law than he might marry his own. Rules of this kind have indeed been imposed, at any rate on paper, in former times. They probably would not now be defended; and indeed we think that most people feel that we have no warrant for deriving by formal logic, from a saying which is certainly in some degree metaphorical, rules of positive law on a subject with which, so far as we may venture to judge, our Lord does not seem to have intended to deal. If these points be considered, we shall hesitate to say that the ground for repulsion in these cases, before the Act of 1907, was that these unions were in their essential nature incestuous, rather than that the persons who had formed them were living in the marital relation without having been lawfully married.

We repeat that the decision of the Courts (as distinguished from the language of some of the judges) is not that the Act makes these marriages lawful in the view of the Church if they are unlawful, or prevents them from being sinful if they are so. It is plain that an Act of Parliament cannot make that innocent which is evil in the sight of God. Such questions must be decided by each man's conscience on such authority as he acknowledges in matters of the kind. All that has been determined is that to live in a marriage which

the Act allows cannot be said to be scandalous evil life such as alone, both by the ancient law of the Church and by our formularies, justifies the parish priest in repelling summarily from Communion. We do not see that the strongest maintenance of the right of the Church to her own law, and the strongest repudiation of the notion that Parliament can make wrong right, are necessarily inconsistent with a recognition that Parliament may so alter the circumstances of particular conduct as to prevent it from being scandalous, even if we believe that it remains sinful. It may be said that even if the Church might, if she were so minded, follow the State in tolerating marriages of this kind, yet she has not done so; and that if the only way in which, as a matter of practice, discipline can be exercised in such cases be removed, the result will be that the Church will in effect receive without censure or protest those who violate her law. The first answer to this is that we are not justified in straining the words of the rubric because we have suffered other forms of Church discipline over the laity to fall into desuetude. If ever such discipline is revived, it will probably be in a form greatly differing from that which in theory still forms part of the ecclesiastical law. Probably no wise man would wish to set in motion the rusty machinery of our present ecclesiastical courts in order to procure a sentence of excommunication against persons who have contracted marriage with a wife's sister; though we by no means admit, notwithstanding certain dicta in the Court of Appeal in the *Banister* case, that such proceedings would not be entitled to succeed. But this, after all, is only part of the general question of the abeyance of discipline over the laity in our Church. No one supposes that the Church tolerates, or regards as innocent, everything which is not visited with formal ecclesiastical censure, or for which the person guilty of it is not summarily repelled from Communion.

In practice, whether or not the revival of formal discipline is 'much to be wished,' the standard of morals which the Church upholds is enforced by the teaching and exhortations of her ministers; and it appears to us, therefore, that the situation created by the decision in the *Banister* case makes

it urgent that the rulers and pastors of the Church should make up their minds, and declare them, as to the attitude of the Church towards the marriages in question. Are they inherently and essentially sinful? If not, are they yet forbidden by the Church, so that, if formal discipline were restored, they would be visited with excommunication or other censure? If either of these questions is to be answered in the affirmative, surely we ought to have a definite pronouncement from the Synods of the Church to that effect. If no such pronouncement is made, can we complain that very many of the clergy do not know what they ought to teach, or that the mass of the laity see no difference between these marriages and any other allowed by law? If, on the other hand, the bishops are not prepared to give an affirmative answer to either of these questions, they should face the consequences which are involved. They should realize that such a position means in effect that the Church treats the law of marriage, at least so far as the prohibited degrees are concerned, as a matter for the secular legislature, and is prepared to recognize as right and proper any marriage which Parliament may see fit to authorize. We do not say that such a position cannot be defended; but, if it is to be adopted, it should be adopted deliberately. It is intolerable that on such a matter things should be allowed merely to drift, and that it should be in effect confessed that the Church has no mind and no rule.

Two points need a word before we conclude. It is sometimes said that the difficulty with which we have been dealing is due to 'Establishment.' We do not understand this. If the Church were disestablished to-morrow, the rubric at the beginning of the Communion Service would still have to be construed, either by the ordinary courts or by some domestic tribunal which Parliament had allowed to be set up for the Church. We know of nothing which entitles us to assume that these tribunals would decide that the effect of the Act on the rubric was other than that which the Dean of the Arches and ten secular judges have held it to be; and if the decision were the same, precisely the same situation would result. It may, indeed, be said, that if the Church were disestablished the rubric might be

altered, or other means provided for excluding persons in the position of Mr. and Mrs. Banister from Communion. No doubt it is possible, as for that matter it is possible as things are ; but again we know of no good ground for assuming that the legislative body authorized by the disestablishing Act of Parliament to represent the disestablished Church would pass a canon to do anything of the kind.

Lastly, the history of this matter should be useful as a warning to persons who wish to protect by amendments interests threatened by Bills in Parliament. They should insist on explicit language, and should not accept anything else, either on the persuasion of opponents, or because they are themselves afraid to set down plainly what they mean. There is no doubt that very many people believed, when the proviso for the protection of the clergy was inserted in the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act, that it was inserted in order to deal with the very point as to admission to Communion which has arisen in the Banister case. Unless we are much mistaken, some of the bishops in the House of Lords were under the same impression. It has turned out that language which was at any rate thought to have this effect means something else, if it means anything. The courts, of course, do not and cannot hear argument or evidence as to what was said or thought when the Act which they are interpreting was passed ; and it is always a formidable, and was in the present case a successful contention, that if Parliament had intended to enact what involves consequences which the Court considers surprising, it would have done so directly.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

A Short Introduction to the Bible. By GILBERT T. SADLER, M.A. (Oxon.), LL.B., B.A. (Lond.). (Williams and Norgate. 1911.) 2s. 6d.

THE 'members of the Alwyne Road Congregational Chapel' must indeed be an enlightened body if, as the dedication says,

they have encouraged the production of this book, which is a condensation of critical views, with scarcely any comment. Mr. Sadler is a critic of the extreme left wing. He only allows the Pauline authorship of 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 Corinthians (most), 2 Corinthians (portions), Philippians, Philemon. With regard to the other epistles attributed to St. Paul, the 'working-up' theory is vigorously used. He adopts Baur's hypothesis of the 'harmonising' purpose of the 'unknown' writer of Luke and Acts. The Gospels apparently contain incidents largely imaginary, which have been devised to reinforce and illustrate Old Testament texts. What marvellous skill the Gospel-writers evince! And is it not as reasonable to hold that the incidents attached the texts to themselves, for the most part, as *vice versa*? The personality of Jesus, apparently, played a small part in the development of Christianity, so much so that we are not surprised to read, 'the existence of such a leader (*i.e.* the historical Jesus) of the early Christians need not be denied' (p. 164), and we are favoured with this simple, straightforward condensation of the Christian Faith: 'By "Christ" no man is meant, but the ideal Love-Spirit born of the Soul (the Virgin Mary)' (p. 212).

This sort of thing savours of the rubbish talked at Theosophico-Ethical Societies, where life is sustained by the assimilation of windy and high-sounding general principles. Life is, after all, personality; and we had always thought that the explanation of our Lord's influence on men was that He concentrated the highest Life and Purpose in His Personality: it seems not to be so. However, we recommend Mr. Sadler to find a sounder philosophical basis for his critical superstructure.

The Old Testament. By H. C. O. LANCHESTER, M.A., Rector of Sall, late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. (Edward Arnold. 1912.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE Old Testament's place in religious teaching is the problem of the present day. For, at least, two generations the work of destruction has gone on apace. The whole view formerly taken of the subject has been, perforce, completely altered; the Law has been transferred from the beginning to the end of the history of Israel, prophecy has been declared to concern itself with the past rather than with the future, and scarcely a single accepted interpretation has been allowed to stand. Now, however, the

work of reconstruction has commenced, and this volume is a contribution towards it. Mr. Lanchester's work may be described as popular, but this does not imply that it is either careless or superficial. It is, however, eminently readable, and should commend itself to those who desire to know what a thoroughly competent young scholar is able to offer people who have no special knowledge of the Old Testament, but desire to ascertain the results of criticism and discovery.

Mr. Lanchester says that he accepts 'frankly and unreservedly' the results of the Higher Criticism, but no one would describe him as an extremist in his adoption of modern ideas. He has no doubt as to the historical character of Moses, and if he is less liberal than Ewald in assigning certain Psalms to David, he allows at least, seven to be 'doubtless composed by David himself.' In another place we are told 'there seems to be no convincing reason to debar us from ascribing the fifty-first Psalm to him'—a statement which most advanced critics would be inclined to dispute. Mr. Lanchester has occasionally a happy knack of illustrating his remarks by allusions to events of to-day. In a footnote, for example, he compares the influence of David on the Hebrew State with that of Porfirio Diaz on modern Mexico, which might be still further emphasized in comparing the later days of the ancient patriarch and those of the successful modern adventurer. The best chapters of the book seem to us to be those on the Psalms and the Prophets, and the whole gives us ground to hope that the author will give us, in the future, a more thorough and ambitious work on the subject.

1. *The Dramatic Poem of Job*. A close metrical translation with critical and explanatory notes. By W. JENNINGS, M.A., formerly Rector of Grasmere. (Methuen and Co. 1912.) 3s. 6d. net.
2. *Job and the Problem of Suffering*. By T. F. ROYDS, M.A., B.D., Curate of the Priory Church, Malvern, late Assistant-Master at Wellington College. (Wells Gardner, Darton and Co. 1911.) 2s. 6d. net.

ON the evening of the day on which the Revised Version of the Old Testament was published a certain distinguished Hebraist turned to the Book of Job, began to read, and read on throughout the night, so wonderful did he find the light of the new rendering. Mr. Royds might have done the same, with his deep feeling for

this book and his generous appreciation of other people's scholarship. He thinks that 'the Revised Version clearly shows that Job contains genuine metrical poetry,' unlike Mr. Jennings who says that though the Revisers 'gave us a translation which is on all hands regarded as greatly superior to all former ones,' yet their 'more literal and accurate rendering' is 'scarcely a poetical one, nor [is it] in language which they might have chosen if unhampered by rules; in the main we have Hebrew rather than English idioms, and passages that are certainly not readable or intelligible English. Sometimes these passages altogether lack sequence.' He has himself essayed to make 'a rendering which should be metrical, like the original, and which should also make it easier to be read and understood, yet without deviation from strict accuracy.' And he has produced a verse translation of very considerable interest. But is it 'like the original'? In one sense there is no deviation from strict accuracy, for he is a careful translator; but since he has 'felt bound to adhere to the received Hebrew text,' there are necessarily difficulties which he has not really solved. Then his metre: he takes such a line as 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' as model; in Eliphaz' speeches he regularly adds two syllables to each line, not that the Hebrew does but because these three speeches 'seemed to require longer lines': the whole of the rest of the book (except of course the prose Prologue and Epilogue) is in blank verse with nine-syllabled lines. How different is this monotony from the metre of the 'original.' Mr. Jennings indeed says: 'It falls in fairly well with that of the Hebrew, which has, more or less regularly, alternating long and short syllables.' Surely 'less' far rather than 'more'; St. Jerome's statement is more intelligible, that it is in hexameter lines with dactyls and spondees. But in truth it is hardly possible to appreciate the Hebrew rhythm unless it is read by accent, to which the varying number and quantity of the syllables add freedom in the bounds of law. And, lastly, is clearness of connexion and softening of idiom a gain?

'How long wilt Thou not cease to watch me,
Leaving me never for an instant?'

writes Mr. Jennings, and relegates to the margin the rude and vigorous 'while I swallow down my spittle.' Those who approve of Wesley's treatment in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* will approve of this treatment of Job. And apart from such details, it is at least a question whether smooth sense and lucidity,

and the elimination of abrupt transitions, are to the credit of the translator of Job. As Mr. Royds says: 'It is an Old Testament Book, an Oriental Book, and a poetical Book,' and the very essence of such poetry is that 'it lacks precision, and can therefore convey infinite shades and gradations of truth, often hinting or suggesting what cannot be fully expressed, save at the risk of impoverishing its content. The greatest poetry, if obscure, is obscure not with entanglement but with mystery.' But it would be unfair to press these objections against Mr. Jennings' little book, for which he himself makes no arrogant claim. Job is metrical: it was worth while to attempt a version in metre; this is a very fair one, and the author acknowledges that he has thrown it into a 'Western form.' Here is a specimen of its quality from the well-known passage in chapter xxxviii:

'Or who restrained with gates the ocean,
As from the womb it issued, bursting,—
What time I gave it clouds for raiment,
And the thick darkness for its swathing,—
What time I brake its coast upon it,
Placed barriers and gates against it,
Saying, "Hither shalt thou come, not further,
And here shall thy proud waves be stayed"?
Didst thou, within thy (little) lifetime,
Impose decree upon the morning,
Or teach the dawn its place, its function,—
To seize the skirts of earth's (dark mantle)
And shake from out her lap the wicked?'

Mr. Royds' book is a very different affair. He seems to have jotted down notes from time to time on difficult passages or phrases that interested him, concentrating his observations in a terse, epigrammatic style. He has also collected a large number of illustrations and parallels from authors, ancient and modern, and of various kinds and tongues. Archbishop Whately once made an edition of Bacon's 'Essays' somewhat in this manner, and his edition is good company still. Both he and Mr. Royds might presume to adopt St. Jerome's boast, 'magis utile quid ex otio meo Christi ecclesiis venturum ratus quam ex aliorum negotio.' Sometimes, indeed, we are led rather far from Job. After a reference to Sophocles and Milton for 'the eyelids of the morning,' a note is added giving Milton's first sketch of his line, a passage of Middleton's from which it was derived, Swinburne's comment on Milton's theft, and then eight lines from Swinburne himself in which he expresses a like idea. So again

a quotation from Lucretius is followed by another from Gray, in which he imitates Lucretius. Yet this wandering is all in pleasant paths. The reader becomes more and more engrossed as he goes on. Short sentences from the author's own pen strike him as acute, presently as deep, finally as directed to an end. And about half-way through the book he finds that Job is really being not so much interpreted to him anew as brought home to him intensely. One of Mr. Royds' quotations might be applied as characteristic of his commentary: 'non super antiquas stare sed ire vias.' He ends with an appendix on 'Suffering in the light of Christianity and modern thought.' This, too, is elaborated with quotations, and the references to modern writers on the subject may prove of value to those—and they are many—who are perplexed. But Mr. Royds will help them also, especially by his quiet, firm insistence on what the uninstructed person so commonly forgets, that God, and Love, and Law, demand large thinking; that life is personal, but not individual; that 'the unifying power of suffering' is important; and that there are reasons in the nature of things 'why the Cross, and not the empty tomb, is the symbol of our faith.'

Since Mr. Royds asks for suggestions towards a second edition,—an enlargement and remodelling might be better still—it may be worth while to note that a point is left out in a Hebrew word on p. 62; that there are slips in Greek accents or breathings on pp. 29, 62, 80, 118; and that the reference to the Massoretic text on xiii. 14 is not quite fair, inasmuch as the Massoretes intended their 'margin,' not their 'text,' to be 'the "authorized version" of the Jews.' Nor is it right to say that Dr. Cox proves himself more than a mere plagiarist with respect to the curious coincidence between his 'Commentary' and Dr. Davidson's *Theology of the Old Testament* noticed on p. 56; the 'Commentary' was the earlier by twenty-four years.

The Oracles in the New Testament. By E. C. SELWYN, D.D.
(Hodder and Stoughton. 1912.) 10s. 6d. net.

THE late Headmaster of Uppingham has given us a noteworthy and remarkable book. Its main thesis is this. The Lord and His disciples read and studied the Greek version of the Old Testament Scriptures. From the moment that He began to conceive the intention of being the Messiah, our Lord set Himself consciously to fulfil all that could be applied to the Messiah in the

Old Testament. And His disciples in recording His life have carried this further by using language which was intended to point a parallel with the language of the Old Testament. Any passage of the Old Testament thus Messianically interpreted became an 'Oracle,' and the Matthean 'Oracles,' of which Papias spoke, were such Old Testament 'Oracles,' *i.e.* passages about the Messiah found in the Old Testament.

That there is much truth in the first part of this statement is obvious. It has, for example, long been recognized that the language of the Old Testament contributes much to the make-up of the Canonical Gospels. But Dr. Selwyn carries this out into details in a manner that gives rise to much question. It is not possible here to illustrate his methods fully. Indeed, the book must be studied systematically, with the Greek Old Testament in hand, before the cumulative force of his argument can be appreciated. But reference may be made to two sections of his book, which seem to the present writer to illustrate his method at its worst and at its best—the sections, that is to say, which deal with the Magi and with the Betrayal.

To account for the story of the Magi in its present form (nor again is it pretended that there is no foundation in fact for the Magi story) we are referred first to Isaiah viii. 5–8. Here we read of 'a man who shall be able to lift up a head.' This is clearly the Messiah of Acts iv. 11, Ephesians i. 22. A line or two earlier we find 'the king of the Assyrians,' and the early Christians, *e.g.* Justin, interpreted this of Herod. In Isaiah viii. 9 we have a 'device which must be scattered.' These passages give us Herod and his plots to remove the Messiah. For the Magi from the East we are referred to Isaiah lx. 3 and lix. 19, and for the connexion between Herod's plots and the flight into Egypt to Isaiah x. 24 f. 'to see the way of Egypt,' 'his anger shall be at the way by the sea unto the road towards Egypt.' But so far we have had a prophecy of the coming of kings, not of Magi. They were represented as Magi, says Dr. Selwyn, to emphasize the triumph of the Messiah over all idolatry, and to rebut the charge that He Himself practised magic. At this point Dr. Selwyn refers to Justin's statements that the Magi were Arabians living in Damascus, and that they heard a voice there, and quotes prophetic passages to justify these expansions of the Gospel story. He then comes back to the Gospel itself. We have had Herod, and his device against Christ; we have had the Magi. Now for the Babe. Here we are referred to Isaiah xxxiii. 3 ff.

The 'salvation among treasures,' v. 6, is the Babe amongst the gifts of the Magi. 'One journeying,' v. 13, is this Babe on his journey to Egypt. Verse 18 describes Herod summoning the Sanhedrin; c. xxxi. 6 gives us Herod's plan of getting the Magi to report to him. Hosea xi. 5 tells us of the sojourn of the Babe in Egypt, because Herod (Asshur) would not be converted and because he slaughtered the Innocents ('did weakly with the sword amongst his cities'), whilst Isaiah xxxii. 7 refers to the way in which the Magi ('godly men') defeated Herod's plans by devising another, *viz.* returning home.

In what has been written above, Dr. Selwyn's treatment of the question has been abbreviated and consequently marred, but we think that the reader who carefully studies the whole chapter will come to the conclusion that the prophetic passages quoted cannot have materially contributed to the make-up of the Gospel story. Many of the passages quoted could not have suggested the facts of the Gospel narrative, even if by a perverse ingenuity those facts, *taken as granted*, could be supposed to find some far-off parallel in the words.

Very much more striking is Dr. Selwyn's treatment of the Betrayal. He cites at some length 2 Samuel xv. 17, and points out some very striking parallels in language and in idea with the Gospel narratives. The coincidences are so numerous that they suggest the question whether there has not been a wholesale transference of the pages of Samuel to the Gospels. Dr. Selwyn suggests another solution. Christ deliberately set Himself to fulfil Messianic passages of the Old Testament. 'If this assumption is denied, we are hopelessly reduced to the conclusion that the entire Gethsemane incident was constructed long after the event upon the basis of the history of David in 2 Samuel.' The same idea of intentional fulfilment of prophecy is also used in the very remarkable chapter on the Transfiguration.

Enough has been said to shew the value and interest of Dr. Selwyn's book. Incidentally it raises a number of questions of importance. For example, it is argued that St. Luke was not a Gentile, that St. Paul could not have had any idea of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth as commonly held, that this doctrine is not to be found in St. Luke, that St. Luke's census is the census of A.D. 6-7, that St. Luke iii. 23 should run 'Now Jesus (not John) was He that cometh, being (like David) as it were thirty years old (when he began to reign).' This is surely

impossible. But more important than these is the main thesis of the book. On this we end with some words by way of caution.

(1) What probability is there that our Lord should have studied so minutely as the theory suggests the Greek Old Testament?

(2) Dr. Selwyn assumes the use of the LXX as represented by A. Is there not some probability that this has been Christianized?

(3) The parallelism between Old and New Testaments seems to be explained by the author along two lines. In some cases, *e.g.* the Magi story and the story of the Widow at Nain, he seems to have regarded the New Testament narrative as almost, or wholly, due to the alleged Old Testament parallels. The argument in the former case seems insufficient and oversubtle. In the latter, the resemblances are striking. In other cases, as, for example, in the story of the Betrayal, Dr. Selwyn shrinks from such a solution, and suggests as an alternative intentional fulfilment on the part of Christ. That this is a very important suggestion, and that it may be one element which explains parallelisms between the Gospels and the Old Testament, the present writer is very willing to admit, though the method as applied to explain our Lord's movements in connexion with the Transfiguration seems to be overdone; and there are many who will regard it as a subterfuge to avoid the conclusion that much of the Gospel narrative is literary fiction.

But the truth does not really lie wholly on the side of either alternative. Parallels of this kind are often extremely misleading. In some part they tend to disappear when differences as well as similarities are taken into account. In other cases, something must be put down to tendency on the part of our Lord, and more especially of the Evangelists, to use Old Testament language, and thus, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, to cause history to repeat itself. Something also should be allowed to pure coincidence. For example, in the parallels between David leaving Jerusalem, which has turned against him, and crossing the Kedron to the Mount of Olives, leaving a traitor behind, who plots to arrest him by night, with Christ also leaving Jerusalem, and crossing Kedron to the Mount of Olives, leaving behind Judas who turns traitor, and comes at night to arrest him, much must be set down to mere coincidence, which has very possibly been heightened in its

effect by the use on the part of the Evangelists of language borrowed from the David story.

Lastly, Dr. Selwyn's argument that the Matthean 'Oracles' were Old Testament passages interpreted Messianically, and that Papias' work was an expansion of this, with illustrative traditions, seems to have much to commend it. Possibly the connexion between our first Gospel and St. Matthew should be sought not in the discourses of that Gospel, but in the remarkable series of quotations introduced by a special formula. In that case, those scholars will be justified who refuse to connect the term *Logia* with the Discourse Source, which they endeavour to reconstruct out of the sayings common to St. Matthew and St. Luke.

1. *The Gospels*. By the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, Fellow and Tutor of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford. (Longmans. 1912.) 5s.
2. *An Introduction to the Synoptic Problem*. By the Rev. ERIC REDE BUCKLEY, M.A., Vicar of Burley-in-Wharfedale, Proctor in Convocation. (Edward Arnold. 1912.) 5s. net.

THE recent output of Introductions to the Gospels has been considerable. The two volumes before us both aim at presenting the results of learned criticism in a form adapted to the English reader, and admirably achieve their aim, without falling into the looseness of statement to which popularizers are prone. The object of the editors of the 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology,' to which Mr. Pullan's new work is his fourth contribution, is 'to supply some carefully considered teaching on matters of Religion to that large body of devout laymen who desire instruction, but are not attracted by the learned treatises which appeal to the theologian,' and to 'steer a course between what is called plain teaching on the one hand and erudition on the other.' Mr. Buckley in rather similar language describes his work as an endeavour 'to steer a middle course between the learned and popular accounts of the matter' and at the same time 'to put before the reader evidence on which he may form an independent judgement.'

Mr. Pullan's volume is a lucid exposition of the assured results of the best recent criticism of the Gospels. It embraces a discussion of such topics as the Canon, fundamental problems and the rise of Anti-Christian criticism, the Synoptic problem

and the hypothetical book of 'Sayings' of our Lord, the characteristics and authorships of the several Gospels. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to standard works such as the *Oxford Studies* of Dr. Sanday and his colleagues, Sir J. Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae*; and Professor Burkitt's *Gospel History and its Transmission*. He is, in particular, a follower of that safest of guides, Dr. Sanday. But while gathering up the best which has been written on his subject, he leaves throughout the work the impress of an independent judgement and sterling common sense. He wisely hesitates to accept Harnack's recent theory that the Acts (and consequently St. Luke's Gospel and its source, St. Mark) must have been written before the death of St. Paul because that event is unrecorded, observing that 'if it is true . . . that Q contained no account of our Lord's Passion, partly because the facts were still so fresh in the minds of the faithful, a similar reason may have weighed with the author of Acts.' Rightly too, we think, he rejects the theory that St. Luke was acquainted with the *Antiquities* of Josephus. Occasionally he is, perhaps, inclined to take too much on trust the statements of others on disputable points. A solitary instance has been noticed of a slight looseness of expression in the discussion of the text of St. Matt. i. 16, where the English reader is liable to be misled by the note (p. 94): 'It is important to remember that in Greek the same word [γεννᾶν] is used for "beget" and "bear,"' which ignores the existence of τέκτειν, the usual verb for the latter; 'may be used' would be preferable. The somewhat petulant impatience with the now familiar symbol Q (= Quelle 'source') is strange, as is also the reason given for acquiescing in it: 'The adoption of this latter symbol into English theological works at first deserved little but ridicule. But it now has the advantage of leaving the letter S free for employment in connection with Luke' (p. 82 f.). Uniformity in terminology, whether 'made in Germany' or elsewhere, is essential for scientific purposes and its neglect would only tend to confusion.

Mr. Buckley's work, the outcome of several years' study, is no mere recapitulation of what others have written, but an original contribution of some importance to the solution of the Synoptic problem. He handles his subject judiciously and is inclined to err, if it be an error, on the side of excessive caution. 'There is no evidence incompatible with the view that S. Mark's Gospel may have been one of the sources of S. Luke' (p. 75) is a very mild statement of the case. Again, the adverb may safely be discarded in the sentence: 'That the last twelve verses of

S. Mark, as given in the ordinary texts, are spurious, is *practically* beyond dispute' (p. 240). This caution, however, lends greater weight to his authority when he follows a line of his own. The general conclusion reached is that, 'the two-document hypothesis of the origin of the Gospels has done immense service to New Testament study, but when pushed to extremes, it has tended to make us foreshorten the process by which the Canonical Gospels were developed' (p. 249 f.). We know from St. Luke that the attempt to draw up a narrative was undertaken by 'many,' and Mr. Buckley advances substantial reasons for his belief that the usual explanation that two documents only form the ground-work of the first three Gospels is too simple to account for the complex phenomena. In particular, he holds that, while the non-Markan matter common to the first and third Gospels *ultimately* goes back to a primitive collection of sayings (Q), the *immediate* second sources of St. Matthew and St. Luke were not the same document, but two distinct works. There were, in his opinion, intermediate documents between Q and the Gospels which we possess. St. Luke's second source was not the primitive Q, but a 'Gospel,' into which a collection of Q sayings had been incorporated. In this Mr. Buckley reaches, independently it seems, very much the same conclusion as did Dr. Bartlet in his valuable 'minority report,' contributed to *Oxford Studies*. Mr. Buckley employs T (*tertium*, third source beside Mark and Q) as the symbol to denote this special source of St. Luke, which represents, he believes, the Jerusalem tradition. He regards as characteristics of T phrases such as *καὶ αὐτός* and *ἐγένετο*, followed by a finite verb. In an interesting note he suggests that a relic of T may have survived in the *pericope adulterae* (Jo. vii. 53 ff.), attached in one group of MSS. to St. Luke's Gospel. Matthew has similarly used, not Q, but an elaborated form of it. Mark has drawn mainly upon a single source (St. Peter), but may have had access to a small collection of Sayings, distinct from Q. Space forbids detailed criticism (the attempt to discover linguistic characteristics of the sources of St. Mark and St. Luke strikes us as not very successful), but the plea for a modification of the two-document theory on some such lines as are here sketched merits careful consideration. The main thesis, *viz.* that there was an extensive primitive Gospel literature which naturally disappeared, the fuller Gospel absorbing and by so doing killing its predecessor, has much to recommend it. The work is attractively set out for the English reader. Symbols and abbreviations are sparingly used,

and each stage in the argument is supported by quotations in English. In order to bring out the literal meaning, Mr. Buckley usually gives a translation of his own, but he has not always improved on the R.V. Why, for instance, on p. 187 are two of St. Mark's historic presents rendered by past tenses? A sentence at the foot of p. 219 is obscure. There are some slips in proof-reading, particularly in the matter of accents. The recurrent ἐξερχέσθαι (*sic*), πορευέσθαι, etc., have the appearance of being due to erroneous analogy from the correct γενέσθαι.

The Historicity of Jesus: A Criticism of the Contention that Jesus never lived, a Statement of the Evidence for His Existence, an Estimate of His Relation to Christianity. By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, of the Department of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University Press. Cambridge: University Press. 1912.) 6s. net.

HOWEVER various the interpretations of the Life and Person of our Lord, the fact that He lived and died in Palestine in the First century of our era might be thought to be indisputable. It is almost incredible that in recent years discussion as to His existence has created a small literature of its own. The leader of the modern sceptical school is Professor Drews of Karlsruhe. It is argued that the denial of Christ's existence—negation gone mad—is consonant with, if not the logical outcome of, the trend of 'advanced' modern criticism. It is impossible, so it is urged, to stop short at the 'liberal' theologian's reconstruction of the traditional conceptions of the Person of Christ: if in the course of its transmission the story of the Life has undergone such radical changes as is sometimes supposed, may not the whole be a myth? What alternative explanation of the origin of the Christian movement have these sceptics to offer? In one thing only are they agreed, *viz.* their spirit of denial and disregard of all the criteria ordinarily applied to historical evidence. For the most part they would have us believe that 'ideas, not persons, are the significant factors in the origin of a religion,' and that 'the salvation-idea' and cardinal doctrines of Christianity are loans from contemporary heathen religions. One member of the school finds the origin of the Gospel story in a literary imitation of the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic. Others explain the name and Person of Jesus by reference to a wholly imaginary Jewish cult of Joshua ben Miriam, the saviour-god of the Israelites.

Others again admit the existence of an obscure historical Jesus, who, however, it is said, lived about a century before our era. Most sane persons will be content to ignore such hysterical views. For the curious, Mr. Case's volume offers a carefully reasoned proof from Biblical and extra-Biblical sources of the absurdity of the sceptical position. In his concluding chapters the author goes on to discuss the question, how far Jesus can justly be called the Founder of Christianity and what is His significance for modern religion? This constructive portion of the work is interesting, though it will fail to satisfy those for whom 'Jesus' and 'Christ' are inseparable names for their Lord and Master.

II.—PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

Pragmatism and its Critics. By A. W. MOORE, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University Press. Cambridge: University Press. 1910.) 5s. net.

WE have not found the style of this book attractive. The journalistic smartness which has become a kind of Pragmatist tradition was tolerable in the writings of William James, but in the productions of authors who have not his fund of genuine humour it is apt to become irritating. The process of coining barbarous expressions for ideas which have already respectable words at their command goes merrily on: 'is-ness' and 'does-ness' are Professor Moore's contributions to the vocabulary.

Having made this complaint it behoves us to add that the lectures which are published in this book are important additions to the literature of Pragmatism. The aspects of the movement which are specially dwelt upon are its historical background as a protest against absolute Idealism, its relation to the idea of evolution and the importance of conceiving thought as a social product. The originality and at the same time the historical ancestry which were claimed for his philosophy by Professor James are vindicated by Dr. Moore in the thesis that it is the application for the first time in the metaphysical sphere of methods which have long been recognized in science and practical life. The advantages which it offers are that it gives concrete meaning to the distinction between truth and error, and that it delivers the human spirit from bondage in a static, all-inclusive system. The inner motive of modern philosophy has been, in Professor Moore's opinion, the impulse towards freedom and

self-determination. 'Whatever the differences between empiricist and rationalist, sensationalist and idealist, materialist and spiritualist, one common aim stands out—all alike were seeking to escape a world which is merely *given*, which we must take just as it comes.' This liberation from complete dependence on the 'given,' whether realistically or idealistically conceived, is consummated in Pragmatism. 'In general, the Pragmatist believes that his doctrines constitute a substantial part of the advance of the whole modern period. That march, he believes, has been—with, of course; the usual amount of counter-marching—in the direction of a self-supporting, self-controlling, self-propelling experience.'

Attention should be particularly directed to the two lectures, 'How Ideas Work' and the 'Ethical Aspect of Pragmatism.' In the former a genuine, though not perhaps entirely successful, attempt is made to clear up the ambiguity of the word 'work,' and to deal with the problem of the truth of past events. In the latter a forcible argument is developed against the possibility of incorporating a genuine teleology into an absolutist system.

The replies to individual critics repeat the familiar complaint that opponents have entirely misconceived the real teaching of Pragmatism. The troubles of Pragmatists, though not their meekness, remind us of the pathetic heroine of our childhood's story book, who was so invariably 'misunderstood.'

God in Evolution. A Pragmatic Study of Theology. By F. H. JOHNSON. (Longmans. 1911.) 5s. net.

Through Evolution to the Living God. By J. R. COHU. (Oxford : Parker. London : Simpkin, Marshall. 1912.) 3s. 6d. net.

IF an understanding is to be arrived at between science and theology it will be by the medium of the clearing-house of philosophy. Mr. Johnson's book is a good example of this method, and he can claim M. Bergson, to whom he devotes an appendix, in support of his efforts. It is not a particularly attractive book, and the last part, which is psychological and ethical, is not so interesting as the first, which is a more definite study of the relationship of scientific evolution to theistic belief. The chapters on God's Omnipotence and God's Benevolence are the most stimulating. We welcome Mr. Johnson's protest against the bogey of anthropomorphism, and the check it imposes upon constructive thought as to the Personality of God, though we doubt whether in order to safeguard that Person-

ality and God's benevolence it is necessary to surrender the doctrine of God's infinite attributes. Mr. Johnson thinks that this doctrine deprives us of the use of humanly derived analogies in reference to God. Surely no more than does his own belief in God's immanence and transcendence, which is the form under which we conceive of God's infinite attributes.

Of a more popular character is Mr. Cohu's book. The author has been winning for himself something of a distinctive position as an apologist, and in his latest work he turns his facile—now and then too facile—pen to the subject of evolution and its bearing on Theism. But if his pen is facile, his thought is not loose; he has read widely, he knows how to quote with full effect, and in honesty and sanity of judgement he leaves nothing to be desired. A convinced evolutionist, who would welcome some means of bridging the gulf between inorganic matter and organic life, and is prepared to admit that man's mental and moral faculties may have had their rudimentary beginnings in the 'sensation and will' of Haeckel's electron, he formulates, particularly in his admirable chapters 'The Directivity of Consciousness' and 'Spiritual Law in the Natural World,' an excellent defence of religious teleology. We are not equally impressed with his treatment of the problem of physical suffering, while moral evil he hardly touches. There is a good deal of stiff scientific reading in the middle of the book, but this does not detract from the apologetic value of the work as a whole.

Christian Ethics and Modern Thought. By CHARLES F. D'ARCY, D.D., Bishop of Down. (Longmans. 1912.) 1s. net.

THE BISHOP OF DOWN's book is in many respects a good and clear exposition of Christian ethics, regarded both from the Scriptural and from the philosophical side. The positive content of the idea of the kingdom of God is well brought out, and the connexion that ethics have with religion, not merely formally, but essentially, that is, in Christianity, as an integral part of the new order, is adequately demonstrated. But we should have liked a good deal more about 'Modern Thought.' Nietzsche is mentioned several times, but otherwise we hear very little of modern anti-Christian reactions, especially on questions of sex and marriage, which are demanding serious treatment from the standpoint of a Churchman. Finally, we must add that, since books on ethics are never very easy reading, it is a pity that the difficulty should be greatly increased in this case by the character of the printing.

The Domain of Belief. By H. J. COKE. (Macmillan and Co. 1910.) 7s. 6d. net.

MR. COKE has written a book which neither the surviving legatees of Nineteenth century materialism nor the extreme supporters of Weismann's theory of the non-transmission of acquired characters will find it easy to answer. All the great outstanding questions in science and philosophy come under review—free-will—or, as Mr. Coke very wisely prefers to say, the personal agency of the Ego—the Atomic Theory, epistemology, immortality, belief in God, pessimism, heredity. The value of Mr. Coke's book is to be found in its judiciousness, its restraint and, perhaps above all, in its power of meeting adversaries on their own ground. The examination of materialistic cosmology and fatalism, the exhibition of the insoluble antinomies which the explanations—though, in truth, they explain nothing—of materialism encounter, will repay close attention. Mr. Coke shews how the materialist, in his treatment of the atom, and in the difficulties he meets with in conceiving of a relationship between motion and consciousness, is continually compelled to take refuge in conjectures alike transcendental and unprovable, while finding no sure resting-place in the world of phenomena. His criticisms of Weismann, and more particularly of Mr. Archdall Reid, are equally stimulating. Mr. Coke's standpoint is not that of the Christian Creeds; his sense of the reality of evil drives him to give up what we may term the physical omnipotence of God, a conception which needs more investigation than at present it receives; but as a plea for the spiritual through a weighty attack on its opposite his work deserves high praise.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by J. HASTINGS, D.D., with the Assistance of J. A. SELBIE, D.D., and other Scholars. Vol. III. 'Burial—Confessions.' Vol. IV. 'Confirmation—Drama.' (T. and T. Clark. 1910, 1911.) 28s. each net.

IN reviewing the second volume of this dictionary we expressed the opinion that the work was likely to prove the most important, as it will certainly be the largest, that Dr. Hastings has undertaken, and these two volumes fully confirm this anticipation. Opinions will, of course, differ as to what may properly be included under 'Religion and Ethics': the Editor has perhaps been wise in allowing the terms a very full content, and the

scale of the encyclopaedia is so great that few will find reason to complain that the inclusion of some subjects diminishes the space available for others. The only difficulty which arises on that account is the necessity of fixing a price for the several volumes, which must be a heavy tax on slender purses, even when their owners have the wisdom to recognize that one good book is a more valuable possession than many poor ones.

The plan of the volumes before us is roughly the same as that of their predecessors, but the main interest naturally shifts a little with the alphabetical arrangement. As before, there are anthropological and geographical articles like those on Burials, Burma, Cambodia, Canaanites, Celts (26 pages), Chams, Chamars, China—to name only a few: as to these we may notice a few instances of doubtful classification under ‘Central,’ which may cause difficulty in the future. There are others which are philosophical or quasi-philosophical, like Cause, Certainty, Chance, Change, Conceptualism; or ethical, such as Charity (11 articles), Chastity (14 articles; 29 pp.), Commerce, or Coercion, together with biographies of more or less importance. The section on ‘Charms and Amulets’ extends to no fewer than 80 pages. Of the historical, theological and doctrinal articles—Christianity, Church, Communion, Concordat, Confessions (71 pp.)—it may be said that in nearly every case the writers shew a commendable desire to be fair in the presentation of views with which they do not agree, and their work is in many cases a real contribution to subjects on which, though much has been written already, there was still work to be done. The bibliographies to the various articles will be found very useful.

The fourth volume opens with two articles on ‘Confirmation’ by Dr. Lawlor, of Trinity College, Dublin, and Fr. Thurston, S.J., both of them interesting in themselves and useful for the references to authorities. The late Mr. Scott-Moncrieff’s two studies on subjects connected with the Coptic Church and the Coptic method of disposal of the dead are a pathetic testimony to the loss to learning entailed by his premature death. Mr. H. B. Workman’s article on ‘Crusades’ packs much information into an unduly restricted space—a restriction painfully obvious also in the article on ‘Convocation.’ The seventy-five pages allotted to ‘Demons and Spirits’ and the fifty-five to ‘Divination’ are on a scale in accordance with the scheme which seems to be followed throughout, and compare curiously with a single article of six columns on ‘Darwinism’ by Mr. Benjamin Kidd. Probably, however, the balance may be redressed in the next volume in

dealing with Evolution. We examined the last article (on 'Drama,' 40 pp.) with some surprise at first on seeing that it included American drama but not English or French, but only to discover that the American Drama was that of the Incas for which we imagine that the student would probably look in vain in most other Dictionaries. But Dr. Hastings has interpreted the content of 'Religion and Ethics' so widely that we cannot help thinking that an opportunity will have been missed if mediaeval and modern drama and their influence do not find a place. Such articles would no doubt be difficult to compile, but the task is not impossible and would probably prove extremely instructive.

Mr. E. G. Gardner's article on 'Dante' and Archdeacon Allen's on 'New Testament Criticism,' useful as they are, leave us rather discontented because they do not say more; but it may fairly be argued that further information can easily be obtained elsewhere, which is not equally the case with criminological subjects which occupy sixty-five pages. The articles on 'Councils' are too short to be of any great service, but Dr. Darwell Stone has collected a good deal of useful information in the section on early Councils, and Professor Poussin's study of 'Buddhist Councils' will probably be found to contain much that is new to most readers. Dr. Joyce's article on 'Deism,' Dr. Elizabeth Haldane's on 'Descartes,' and Professor Williston Walker's on 'Congregationalism' will also prove attractive, though perhaps not to the same kind of student.

III.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

The Christian Teaching of Coin Mottoes. By W. ALLAN, D.D.
With a Supplementary Chapter on *The Religious Character of Ancient Coins.* By J. ZIMMERMAN, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 1912.) 3s. 6d.

THE study of Numismatics is pursued by men of very varied interests, and this little book on the 'Christian Teaching of Coin Mottoes' may be the means of inducing many who are not interested in the Mythologies or the Art of Greece or Rome, or in the coinage of Mediaeval Europe, to collect and study the coins bearing religious mottoes. Dr. Allan has provided an interesting introduction to this series of coins, illustrated with forty-five good photographic illustrations; which, however, are not always placed so near to the passages in which they are described as might have

been possible with a little more care. The religious mottoes are classified as early, later, sayings of Jesus, apostolic sayings, references to the Holy Spirit, doctrinal mottoes, references to trust in God or His providence, protection and guidance. Then follow mottoes concerning prayer and patriotism, and others concerning personal religion, adoration, and those relating to the Word of God. Lastly, a collection of miscellaneous mottoes difficult to classify. There is a useful index of the mottoes quoted. Those who are attracted by this little work to study the subject will find many coins of great interest not mentioned by the author in the index to *The Coins of Great Britain*, by Lieut.-Col. Thorburn and Mr. H. A. Grueber. In the preface the 'Numismatic Chronicle' should be the 'Numismatic Circular,' the mistake being repeated on p. 22.

The author of the second part of the book begins and ends his work by reference to the action of President Roosevelt in ordering the omission of the words 'In God we trust' from some of the American coins. The President's answer to his objectors was given in the *Numismatic Circular* (Vol. XVI., pp. 103-4) and should have been answered by Dr. Zimmerman. The author's remarks on the names Zeus and Jupiter are interesting and important for students commencing this study. He notices the way in which human portraits were gradually introduced as those of deified heroes, and refers to the difficulties felt by the Jews and early Christians in the use of money stamped with idolatrous symbols.

The passage concerning the religious types used in India gives information not generally known; but the mere comparison of the beautiful Greek ideals with the symbolism of the Eastern nations is not followed by any notes on the habit of the Eastern mind to represent forces without regard to beauty. The description of our Lord in the Apocalypse is of this Eastern character and could have been penned by no Greek. In the chapter on the 'Genesis of the Madonna Cult and Mariolatry,' in which the figures on coins of Julian and Antoninus Pius are compared with those of the Madonna on later Christian coins, the writer suggests that as in so many other cases a heathen cult was given a Christian form and name in order to wean the heathen from old customs and ideas which they were loath to give up without some compensating similar religious ideas and services.

The Christian significance of the cross is ably defended, and the author compares the use of the eagle as a symbol of liberty on the American coinage, which no one, he says, could

with reason regard as having any reference to the Greek eagle, the symbol of Zeus.

In the notice of the tribute money, the denarius of Tiberius, no reference is made to the legend which claims Tiberius as son of the divine and Pontifex Maximus. In this part of the book the illustrations are even worse placed than in the former, and in another edition great improvement might be secured by care in this respect. We are not accustomed in English books to find the personal pronoun 'I' so frequently as in these pages. A few sentences are not quite so clear as they should be in a work of an introductory nature. On p. 140 the reader would hardly gather that the coin of Lentulus Crus was coined in Ephesus.

No mention is made of the help given by the coins in learning the distribution of the various cults throughout the ancient world, as the work only aims at shewing how religion affected the coinage from the earliest times when money was used.

1. *Diocesis Lincolniensis. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste.* Pars tertia. 'Canterbury and York Society' Publications, Part XXVIII. December 1911.
2. *Diocesis Herefordensis. Registrum Johannis de Trillek.* Pars secunda. 'Canterbury and York Society' Publications, Part XXIX. March 1912.
3. *Diocesis Cantuariensis. Registrum Matthei Parker.* Pars tertia. 'Canterbury and York Society' Publications, Part XXX. June 1912. (London: issued for the Society at 124 Chancery Lane.)

THE third part of the *Rotuli* of Robert Grosseteste issued last December by the Canterbury and York Society completes the entries relating to the archdeaconry of Northampton, and includes those for the archdeaconries of Huntingdon and Bedford and part of Bucks. Besides a very large number of presentations to benefices, it contains documents of some interest in regard to the restrictions imposed on the erecting of private chapels, the impropriation of the Church of Ashwell by leave of Pope Honorius to Westminster Abbey in 1241, and a dispensation for Orders to the son of an acolyte.

The double part (1344-61) which concludes the Register of John de Trillek, Bishop of Hereford, is of extraordinary interest

for its constant references to the wars of Edward III and the Black Prince in France. It is a curious illustration of the importance of these documents for secular as well as for ecclesiastical history—a feature to which the Archbishop of Canterbury has recently called attention—that we should find in a Bishop's Register an official detailed account of a campaign in Normandy; and there is much more besides. The part opens with letters from Innocent VI praising the Black Prince for his kindness to John of France his captive and exhorting him to peace, but then we go back to February 1346 to find the King appealing to the Bishop to lend him, 'sanz nulle excusacion ou feintise,' 300 marks for his expedition to France on the ground, quaintly described in *Norman French*, that our adversary is doing his best to subdue us, to deal destruction to our realm, *et de ouster la langue dengleterre!* In March Edward appealed to him to induce his clergy to pay in advance the Tenth which had been granted for three years: the appeal was supported by the Archbishop, and the Bishop sent instructions for a meeting of his clergy to be called at Bromyard (by representatives, to save trouble and expense, one proctor for each deanery, one for each religious house) to consider the matter. In April Bishop John had to reply that he would pay his own share in advance, but that his clergy pleaded that they simply could not afford to do so. Further efforts seem to have been made to alter their determination after a Bishops' meeting. In March 1347 the King, whose expenses were heavy, wrote again from Calais to say that he had need of 20,000 sacks of wool (from another entry we learn that nine sacks were estimated as worth £81), towards which the Bishop is to send him what he can. As the Bishop does not seem to have replied (probably because he could not), this request was followed by a most urgent one in August for the loan of the value of ten sacks 'in nostra hujusmodi necessitate que legi non subjicitur.' In November the King summons a Parliament for the morrow of St. Hilary in order, as it is expressly stated, to remedy abuses, not to ask for further aids: the Parliament had to be postponed twice on account of pestilence, and in July the clergy pleaded once more on the ground of poverty that they could not pay Tenth in advance.

We have not space to do more than refer to documents relating to the prejudice excited against the Order of St. John of Jerusalem by the fact that the French Prior had fought against the English at Cressy; to the Statute of Labourers in 1349 and the consequent injunction to the clergy not to relieve

able-bodied beggars, male or female, contrary to the Apostolic maxim; the return of the scholars to Oxford in 1354; or a royal injunction to the Bishop in 1359 not to execute any process from the Roman Court in regard to the Archdeaconry of Cornwall. There is a domestic matter, however, to which attention deserves to be called: in a visitation of the Deanery of Leominster the Bishop found that the vicar of the church of Eardisland, appropriated to the abbey of Lyre, had no space to walk or to grow weeds and herbs, and consequently assigned him part of the rectorial glebe, because it is not right that of those who are sharers in the same church one should hunger and be in want while another '*superhabundancia et superflua pociatur.*' The very lengthy list of ordinations and presentations in the latter half of the volume will be found full of information, especially by those who will take the trouble to compare the two; we will only mention one—the ordination as an acolyte in 1348 of one Philip Ilger, who was already a Canon of Hereford. There are many ordinations by Letters Dimissory, including several connected with Croxden Abbey from the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. The frontispiece to the volume is a reproduction of Trillek's brass in Hereford Cathedral, and there is a copious index.

The third portion of Parker's Register begins with the appointment of Thomas Cowper to the Deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, of the foundation of King Henry VIII *felicissime memorie*, in 1567. It is of some importance for the light which it throws on the dioceses of Chichester, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Winchester, and Worcester, all of which fell vacant in the period covered. Thus we find a View of Armour, in the diocese of Chichester, in 1569, and a licence (confirmed by the Queen's letters patent) to Scipio Stucley to hold the living of West Worlington (Exon.), though only nineteen years old and not yet in Orders, for support in his studies, provided in the meantime he wore a decent and customary clerical habit; and another to Christopher Polwhele, vicar of North Petherwyn in the same diocese, to defer taking Orders for two years while studying at Oxford. The documents relating to the installation of the new prebendaries of Westminster in 1560, and the arrangements for a Sixteenth century ordination examination may also be selected for mention.

There is one note which raises the only serious criticism which we feel disposed to make of the editing of these Registers. The Queen's letter to Parker as to the alteration of the Lessons

in the Prayer Book and as to the 'unseemly keeping' of chancels is omitted as being already reprinted in the *Parker Correspondence*, like the Statute of Labourers as appearing in the *Statutes of the Realm*, and one or two other documents as being in Rymer's *Foedera* or Wilkins' *Concilia*. We venture to suggest to the Editors that this is not really good policy, for the amount of space saved does not compensate for the difficulties which it causes to students who live or work at a distance from great Libraries, and it may be doubted if there are a dozen students in England who possess *all* the books we have mentioned. Since, however, by far the greater part of the Registers appears in these publications for the first time, the criticism does not often apply, and it may be hoped that the steady progress which the Society is making within the limits possible with the funds at its disposal may secure the additional support that it deserves. It is not creditable either to the Church of England, or to historical students in general, that there should be at present barely two hundred people willing to subscribe a guinea a year for the purpose of printing records of priceless value for English history.

Edward the Fourth. By LAURENCE STRATFORD, B.A. 'Makers of National History.' (Pitman and Sons. 1910.) 3s. 6d.

THIS volume claims to be the only monograph dealing with the first Yorkist King since the publication in 1640 of Habington's *Historie of King Edward IV.* It is possible that Mr. Stratford, in his enthusiasm for his subject, is mistaken in assigning the cause of this neglect simply to dearth of contemporary material. Edward IV was but forty when he died, and the simple fact of kingship during some twenty-two years, albeit troubled, does not necessarily constitute importance in the making of national history. Edward was undoubtedly a good soldier. That he was the first king since the Conquest to leave a greater legacy than his debts is not necessarily so creditable as might at first sight appear. Of his private life the less said the better; his foreign policy was contemptible, while the constitutional abuses of his reign put those of the Tudors well-nigh into the shade. That Mr. Stratford realizes the difficulty of the task which Mr. Hutton, the editor, has set him is clear from his own statement (p. x)—'the "Life" of a king if it is to have any worth at all must be practically a history of his reign.' This is a disputable statement; but as such a history the present volume has many points of excellence. While Mr. Stratford

does not give the impression of being a finished historian, his work is carefully done, and he has been at considerable pains to bring out the witness of all the possible authorities. He gives an interesting account of Edward's residence abroad, and a special point of excellence lies in the care with which he has treated questions of topography. He seems to have examined all the battle-sites, and his work gives a distinct and pleasing impression of local colour. The book contains a full bibliography and a good index.

Histoire de S. François de Borgia, Troisième Général de la Compagnie de Jésus (1510-1572). Par PIERRE SUAUE, S.J. (Paris: Beauchesne et Cie. 1910.)

THE Jesuits have had a great history and of late years have done much for its study. Fr. Suau has done his share of their task in a right spirit, and yet with enthusiasm. Preceding studies had been written mainly for edification and without criticism. But Fr. Suau has removed the over-colouring from the common story of Borgia's conversion; he has shewn that an obscure intrigue of the Portuguese Courts, and not his own wish for retirement, caused Borgia's long retirement to Gandia after 1543; and yet he brings out well in a clear narrative the devotional side of his life, illustrated by an appendix of extracts from his spiritual diary. The future Cardinal's life had a strange background. Pedro Luis, eldest son of Alexander VI (himself a Spaniard) by an unknown paramour, had a great military career in Spain, and became Duke of Gandia. His half-brother and successor Juan, whose morals scandalized Gandia and interested Rome, was assassinated probably by his brother Caesar, and so left the care of his heir Juan to his really saintly wife, a cousin of King Ferdinand. Juan II was married to a daughter of Ferdinand's illegitimate son Alfonso, Archbishop of Saragossa from the age of nine, at whose nomination when only six the Pope had scrupled in spite of his being already an Archdeacon. He said mass once the day after his ordination as priest in the twenty-second year of his episcopate, which lasted nineteen years longer. He was followed by his sons in succession, and their sister married Juan II and was the mother of Francis. The saint himself was admirably brought up, became a favourite and a high official at Court, and was married to a favourite of the Queen and Empress Isabella. The death of the Empress (1539), whom he greatly

loved, deepened Borgia's religious life, and is long remembered in his spiritual diary. The same year he was made Viceroy of Catalonia, and in that province met some of the early Jesuits. From the first his patronage was gained by their spirituality and learning.

After his retirement in 1543, Gandia became the most numerous of their first seven houses in Spain, and the University there, founded by Borgia (1550), was placed under their direction. It was Borgia who procured an examination of the *Spiritual Exercises*, and after their approval by Paul III the first edition was issued at his expense. In 1548 there was a chance of his being called to Court, and in his terror he thought of a visit to Rome. But St. Ignatius dreaded lest there the Cardinalate should come to him, as it afterwards did. The result of all this was that the Pope gave leave for a layman to make his profession secretly, but remain two years in the world. This layman was Borgia, and so he became a member of the society which had long owned his heart and trained his devotion. His acceptance of the Cardinalate, his official work for the society at Rome, and his election as General after the death of Laynez (1565), are striking incidents cast upon a background of earnest work and heartfelt prayer, revealed to us in his spiritual diary. All this part of his life is told from new material, and the story of his generalship with its many activities and deeply spiritual life is a touching one. The missions of the company, too, owed much to him, for, like Gregory the Great, he had dreamed of missionary work for himself, and then, when he reached a post of command, pressed it upon others. The Borgian Popes and St. Francis belong to the same family, but they are separated by the Counter-Reformation and all that it implies.

The Republican Tradition in Europe. By H. A. L. FISHER, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. (Methuen and Co. 1912.) 6s. net.

MR. FISHER has once more placed the student under a heavy debt. This admirable and lucid volume, indeed, appeals rather to the general reader than the student—but the latter cannot afford to neglect it. If it does not precisely add to knowledge it summarizes in an accessible and most readable form the main stream of European development in regard to republican ideals; while it contains criticisms both penetrating and original.

The only fault we have to find with the book is that there is no more of it. The author was, we suppose, hampered by the necessity of getting all he wanted to say within the limits set to the course of 'Lowell Lectures,' which form the basis of the book. At the same time it seems to us very distinctly a pity that he should have hurried over the earlier part of his topic. The result is a lack of proportion in the whole book; and it amounts to little more than a comment from a particular standpoint on Nineteenth century History—*i.e.* if we begin the Nineteenth century, as we should, with the French Revolution. Only fifty-two pages out of a whole of 285 are occupied with previous history; and the result is unfortunate. In the first place Mr. Fisher makes, what seems to us, a capital error in identifying democracy with republicanism. At least, if he admits the distinction in words, he ignores it very largely in practice. But as a matter of fact a republic is merely a kingless commonwealth, and the republican tradition, properly speaking, means the anti-royalist, not the democratic tradition. A republic may be a perfectly good specimen of the class, while its government is entirely in the hands of a narrow oligarchy. In any case we think that a great deal more should have been said about the mediaeval Italian city-states; and that the constitution of Venice deserved a fuller treatment. Moreover, it was the quarrel between the Venetian republic and Pope Paul V, in the early years of the Seventeenth century, that raised in its most acute and intelligible form the great problem, on which so much modern politics turns, of the relation of a State which believes itself omnipotent to other societies, which refuse to admit that their authority is merely derived. 'The natural liberty of the State,' which was largely the meaning of the Divine Right of Kings, was by the very confession of Paolo Sarpi the real bone of contention in this controversy. So also it was in the controversy which arose about the same time between King James I and the Papists on the subject of the oath of allegiance. But the Venetian case is a better instance, because it was not complicated by any notions about royalty. In the same way we think it regrettable that the writer should have omitted all discussion of the famous *Contr' Un* of Étienne de la Boétie. Indeed a good deal more might have been made not only of him, but of men like John Lilburne in the next century.

However, these are merely omissions. The whole book is as valuable as it is interesting. We will not quote the page about the effects of modern science in increasing the personal forces of politics, by means of photography. It has been already widely

noticed. One passage, however, which has reference to the effects of the French Revolution upon the Italian state-system, we think it worth while to cite. It affords a good instance of the wisdom and balance with which the whole subject is treated. It is also a good specimen of the writer's style.

'When a political settlement has become hardened by prescription, even the most transient disturbance of it is a fact of moment. It dislocates the traditional mode of thinking and breaks the hard crust of usage. Even if the old order be restored, the restoration is never quite exact. It cannot reproduce a state of feeling of which one of the essential conditions was the bare fact of unbroken continuity. The old furniture may be replaced, but it is viewed *not as a fixture but as a movable*, and questions arise as to whether it looks well in its former position.'

The Quakers in the American Colonies. By RUFUS M. JONES, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College, U.S.A., assisted by ISAAC SHARPLESS, D.Sc., President of Haverford College, and AMELIA M. GUMMERE. (Macmillan and Co. 1911.) 12s. net.

MR. BRAITHWAITE'S history of early Quakerism in England, which we lately reviewed, has been quickly followed by a companion volume dealing with America. The story which is admirably told, with some quaint Americanisms on the part of the lady contributor, begins exactly as in England, though afterwards there is a wide divergence. In 1656 two Quakeresses invaded Massachusetts, coming as authorized 'publishers of truth,' and resolved to use the sensational methods for which George Fox and his followers were already notorious in England and Scotland. It was, as they must have known, a perilous undertaking. Mr. J. A. Doyle has described New England as the 'Christian Sparta, merciless in its discipline, crushing the individual into subjection to the State, yet strengthening him in the process.' Already more than one attempt to introduce a mystical and unordered type of religion had been suppressed, and Government and ministers were equally resolved that orthodox Puritanism should not be contaminated. There was persecution and expulsion, but this only inflamed the zeal of the missionary Friends. A party sailed with a Quaker captain from Portsmouth in 1657, and Dr. Jones gives us some extracts from the ship's log which shew the enthusiasm and the assurance of Divine protection that marked them.

'The faithful were carried far above storms and tempests, and

we saw the Lord leading our vessel as it were a man leading a horse by the head, we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line, which was and is our Leader, Guide, and Rule.'

We are reminded of the early Irish monks, venturing to sea in their coracles without oar or sail. When they reached the American coast, 'the power of the Lord fell much upon us, and an irresistible word came unto us "that the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea."' It was published in the ears of the brethren, which caused tears to break forth with fulness of joy.' But grim realities had to be faced. Flogging and branding and sentences of permanent exile were inflicted and were defied by the preachers and their converts. Knowing what awaited them, they persisted in returning, and four persons, one of them a woman, suffered death, 'being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers.' There was an equal sense of duty on the part of Governor Endicott and of his victims in this tragedy of 1659. We cannot wonder that after the Restoration such proceedings were promptly stopped. Charles II was humane by nature, and could have little favour for Puritans who were harbouring regicides.

But there was one province, that of Rhode Island, which stood for liberty of conscience. Its founder, Roger Williams, it is true, was hostile to Quakerism, and had a vigorous controversy with George Fox when he visited America. But in Rhode Island, Dr. Jones tells us, the Quakers became dominant, and controlled its Government from 1663 to 1714, not flinching from war on the occasion of Indian raids. They also gained a strong hold upon some parts of the Colony of New York, and in New Jersey (where Miss Gummere tells us of interesting survivals of old English law and usage) they founded their first colony. But this was soon overshadowed by the great and successful experiment in Pennsylvania, where Quakers ruled from 1682 to 1756, when they found themselves outnumbered in the legislature and withdrew rather than sanction by their presence an Indian war. From that time onward they have been a wealthy land-owning minority, without much voice in public affairs, though the constitution of the United States has borrowed largely from that which they had framed for Pennsylvania.

Our writers frankly confess the failure of Quakerism, and trace it to the quietism which replaced the aggressive vigour of the original evangelists. It is difficult, in their pages, to follow the change, though the result is plain enough. Quakers became

intensely conservative, clinging to customs as principles in order, so Dr. Jones ironically says, to avoid the danger of personal decision. They distrusted education, and therefore lacked intelligent leadership, and sank from being preachers of 'universal truth' into the status of a 'peculiar people.' Their ministry seems to have failed them, and they were sustained only by the teaching of a steady influx of English Friends who were moved to pay hortatory visits to America. But they shared with their English brethren an honourable devotion to the practical side of religion, and their conscience was developed to a high point of sensibility. This volume is confined to the Colonial period. Its successor will have to tell a tale of further decline, in which the American Friends, unlike those of England, passed over in large numbers to Unitarianism.

Some London Churches. Twenty-six Plates from Original Pencil Drawings by G. M. ELWOOD. With Historical and Descriptive Notes by E. HERMITAGE DAY, D.D., F.S.A. (Mowbray. 1911.) 7s. 6d.

THE purpose of this book is to give a picture and at the same time some account of twenty-five London churches, 'which for one reason or another may be considered representative, and are therefore visited by many English and American Churchmen.' Topographically the range is wide, for it stretches from St. Mary's, Primrose Hill, to St. Peter's, London Docks; from Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, to St. Columba's, Haggerston; and the convenience of the visitor is studied by the provision of a table shewing when the buildings may be found open. The purpose is a laudable one, but it is a little unfortunate that Dr. Day should have chosen for the *format* of his work the large page with the fair white margin beloved of book collectors rather than the size which makes a book possible as a familiar companion because it can be carried comfortably and unobtrusively in the pocket.

Of Mr. Elwood's drawings it may be said that some of them are beautiful and all are interesting if only because they suggest new points of view. Dr. Day has performed his task of description with care and judgement so far as the reviewer has had an opportunity of testing it from personal knowledge of most of the churches dealt with, though it does not always seem that quite the best use is made of the historical interest of some of the older buildings. We would venture to suggest

to him, as a further task worthy of his pains, a description of the less known London churches before they have perished irreparably as a consequence of the shifting of population and the urgency of provision for the spiritual need of Greater London.

IV.—CHURCH REFORM.

Efficiency in the Church of England. By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D.,
Archdeacon of Ely. (London: John Murray. 1912.)
2s. 6d.

ARCHDEACON CUNNINGHAM contributed to the *Morning Post* a series of articles based upon the report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance shortly after its publication. He has expanded them into a little book in which he deals with other matters of Church reform, such as the revision of the Prayer Book and the constitution of Convocation, besides those which came within the purview of the Committee. On the whole he seems to approve their recommendations; but there is one fundamental difference between the Archdeacon and the Committee. It leads him, perhaps, to do some injustice to them by suggesting that the 'Committee had as their ideal for the English Church a loose confederation of dioceses, each of which maintained a practical independence in regard to all the essential departments of Church organization.' The difference in point of view is shewn by a reference to the Representative Church Council. He suggests that the Central Board of Finance should prepare a report to shew 'the actual requirements of the Church for objects of every kind,' and considers that 'for the purpose of receiving such a report and elucidating it by discussion the Representative Church Council is admirably adapted. It is drawn from all parts of the country; and it furnishes an excellent medium both for informing local opinion and for bringing local opinion to bear on the financial administration of the Church as a whole.' The position of the Central Board, presumably, would be similar to that of the Committee on the Moral Witness of the Church on Economic Subjects, which, so far from informing 'local opinion,' does not even keep the diocesan committees advised of its proceedings. In fact the Representative Church Council is, in the opinion of the majority of Churchmen, a strong argument against the desire of the Archdeacon to constitute a Central Board as the starting point and start downwards. Moreover, as the Archbishop of York pointed out at the Pan-Anglican Congress,

that course is contrary to the growth of our national institutions, which have developed upon sound foundations in the reverse process. The Archbishops' Committee realize the importance of the creation of parochial church councils to have a place in their scheme just as prominent as or even more than the diocesan boards or the Central Board. In that view they will be supported by all but the few ecclesiastical dignitaries who share the Archdeacon's generous opinion of the value of the Representative Church Council. At the same time Dr. Cunningham advocates some reform in the management of parochial finance, and attributes the defects in the existing arrangements mainly to the autocratic position of the incumbent, for which the laity have to share the responsibility. 'The incumbent may not desire to assume the part of parish autocrat, but he is apt to drift unconsciously into it, because he is so often left to bear the whole burden of financial responsibility.' He is expected to pay the assistant clergymen and finance other objects out of his own pocket. 'The man who pays the piper,' the Archdeacon continues, 'may be excused if he occasionally calls the tune; and parishioners who deliberately try to minimise their financial burdens have no real claim to exercise a dominating influence.' As the parochial income raised by voluntary contributions increases 'there is ample reason for giving the laity complete control.' The conditions in rural parishes, however, present some difficulty, and the Archdeacon thinks that a parochial church council is unnecessary for them, and that 'the Easter vestry gives a sufficient opportunity for the people to criticize the manner in which the duties have been discharged.' The objection to the Easter vestry is that it is only a meeting of ratepayers. In the majority of rural parishes a church council would find enough work at least for a quarterly meeting.

Although Archdeacon Cunningham fully realizes the harmful effects of parochialism, he advocates with a curious inconsistency a kind of parochializing of cathedrals. In regard to cathedral chapters he considers that 'the present state of affairs is unsatisfactory and extravagant' and that 'the dignified aloofness of the cathedral clergy from parochial activities is the root of the mischief.' The suggested remedy is to give to the Dean the charge of a parish and to place the canons somewhat in the position of assistant curates. The proposal is one that will hardly win general approval, since there is an increasing readiness to recognize the value of the maintenance of a high standard of services in the mother church of the diocese and of the presence

of a strong force of clergy for service in the diocese in various and defined capacities.

In connexion with parochial affairs Archdeacon Cunningham touches upon a point which is entirely omitted from the Report of the Archbishops' Committee as they excluded any consideration of the administration of the money received for the relief of the poor. It is somewhat disappointing to find that the Archdeacon seems to condone the present system of doles distributed by the clergy, and only suggests that 'the problems of the wise administration of Charity are assuming new forms, and it may be necessary to consult the churchwardens as to the principles on which the Communion alms are to be dealt with.' There is another aspect of the matter of which he makes no mention. People will oftentimes contribute readily to the poor fund, while there is the greatest difficulty in obtaining subscriptions to the assistant clergy fund. In a considerable number of parishes money is lavished upon the 'poor' which should be devoted to the support of the ministry.

Among the many important points which receive consideration in this little book is one which generally escapes attention. It is the more satisfactory, therefore, to note the emphasis which the Archdeacon lays on the necessity for the fullest possible information to be available as to the manner in which money is expended and even for 'ample opportunity for criticizing the conduct of affairs.' Much of the failure of the laity to support those objects which are regarded by the Archbishops' Committee as the 'essential departments' of Church finance is honestly due to the fact that they have not had the facts put before them. Dr. Cunningham bears witness that 'there is a great deal of willingness to give for approved objects,' but at present 'the charitable man is distracted by the variety and insistence of appeals for Church purposes' which, generally speaking, do not relate to the 'essential departments' of the Church's welfare. 'The one hope for development of resources on which the Church can rely is to be found in creating a definite and intelligent understanding of the work in which she is engaged.' Publicity and confidence in the laity are the two things most needed to carry out any scheme for the efficient reorganization of the finance of the Church of England.

V.—SCIENCE AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

Heredity in the Light of Recent Research. By L. DONCASTER, M.A., Fellow of King's College. (Cambridge: University Press. 1910.) 1s. net.

Mendelism. By R. C. PUNNETT, F.R.S., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Professor of Biology in the University of Cambridge. Third edition. (Macmillan and Co. 1911.) 5s. net.

THE subject of Heredity has of recent years occupied a great part of the attention of workers in the field of biology. It is obvious that the problem of organic evolution can only be satisfactorily solved in proportion as the laws which control the transmission of parental characters to the offspring, and the causes which give rise to variation from the parental standard, are thoroughly understood. The two facts of common observation, first that in a general way like produces like, and secondly that the likeness is seldom or never complete in the smallest detail, formed an essential part of the basis on which the theory of evolution by natural selection was founded by Darwin and Wallace more than fifty years ago. But the authors of that illuminating conception were unable in the then state of knowledge to advance in this respect beyond the broad statement of acknowledged fact, which indeed was amply sufficient for the immediate purpose. They performed the invaluable service of pointing out the way for future investigation, leaving details to be supplied in the light of further knowledge. The task has been taken up with enthusiasm by a younger generation of workers, and we are now in possession of a mass of information on the subject of heredity and variation which has led to the formulation of theories unknown to Darwin, though directly owing their existence to the stimulating effect of his biological investigations. Each of the two books now before us contains a valuable statement of some of the chief results which have emerged from recent work on these important subjects.

Mr. Doncaster's compact little treatise is in most respects an excellent introduction to the study of these later researches. In it he explains lucidly and concisely the nature of the problem to be solved, following this up with a brief account of the different kinds of variation, their respective relation to the power of hereditary transmission, and what is known of the causes to which they owe their origin. An elementary, and very clear

description is added of the statistical methods employed by the biometrical school which was founded by the late Sir Francis Galton, and some notice is given to the recently-established study of 'Eugenics,' with the practical results hoped for by many of its votaries. Two chapters are taken up with an excellent account of the epoch-making discovery of Mendel, and some of the remarkable developments which have followed the application of his principle to complicated cases of inheritance are carefully recorded. Points still in dispute receive their due share of attention, and special note is taken of various matters relating to inheritance in man, in whose case the methods of research differ necessarily from those elsewhere employed. A useful historical summary is given, and in an appendix are indicated certain speculations as to the material basis of heredity for which recent histological investigations have afforded a foundation. A list of literature, a glossary and index round off a book which contains a large amount of valuable and accurate information in very small compass. It is noticeable that Mr. Doncaster, while discussing the 'mutation' theory of de Vries in relation to the problem of adaptation, allows that 'essentially stable variations occur, which probably differ from mutations only in their small extent.' This is all that Darwinians ask for, and the author's distinction between 'minute mutations' and 'fluctuating variability' will only hold good if the latter term be taken in the sense of 'somatic modification,' which is not the sense attached to it by modern upholders of the doctrine of Darwin and Wallace.

Professor Punnett's volume is a new edition, rewritten and enlarged, of his well-known work on Mendelism. He is known to be one of the most able and successful of the school of experimenters and expounders, headed in this country by Professor Bateson, who have done so much to widen our knowledge of the laws of variation and heredity by working on the lines laid down by the famous Abbot of Brönn. As an exposition of Mendel's own results, and the modern developments that have issued therefrom, Professor Punnett's book is admirable; and for those who desire something between a sketch like Mr. Doncaster's and an extended treatise like Professor Bateson's, nothing better could be desired. But when we come to the author's application of Mendelian data to the general problem of evolution, and especially to the question of adaptation, we meet at once with the weakness, not to say confusion, of argument which is unfortunately characteristic of so many of his school. Professor Punnett labours to shew that the Darwinian conception of species-

formation is erroneous, and that the 'mutation' theory of de Vries must now be suffered to take its place. 'The new variation,' says Mr. Punnett, 'springs into being by a sudden step, not by a process of gradual and almost imperceptible augmentation.' Of course; no Darwinian would deny it. The only point is that the Darwinian would maintain that the change, though 'sudden,' may be minimal in amount; and this has elsewhere been conceded by Mr. Punnett himself as well as by other mutationists. The fact is that disputants like our present author are trying to pin Darwinians down to Lamarckism. From this temptation Darwinians were emancipated by Galton and by Weismann long before de Vries was heard of. If 'mutation' means only germinal variation as distinct from somatic modification, all evolutionists, except the Lamarckians, are also mutationists. Darwin's variations are not excluded by Mr. Punnett's definition, and there is no reason why an indefinite number of such variations should not be spoken of as 'discontinuous.' For discontinuity in variation, since the concession above referred to, has come to signify with mutationists nothing but an inheritable departure from the parent form. The extent of the departure is virtually allowed by them to be immaterial; the only thing that matters is the fact of transmission by heredity. But this is not the sole point in which less than justice is done to the school of Darwin. 'We now recognise,' says the author, 'that the function of natural selection is selection and not creation.' We may well ask when was this not recognized? If the discovery is a recent one to Professor Punnett and his friends, it has been to most other people, including all genuine Darwinians, a self-evident truth from the beginning. No one who is conversant with the facts concerned will consider the interpretation of the phenomena of mimicry which the writer offers as a substitute for that favoured by Darwinians at all adequate or convincing. But when he concludes that 'mimetic resemblance is a true phenomenon, but natural selection plays the part of a conservative, not of a formative agent,' he is giving utterance to the very views he professes to oppose.

Enough has now been said to shew that the book before us fails as an attack on the Darwinian theory. But as an authoritative exposition of Mendelian principles by one eminently qualified to deal with them, it is of the highest value. A final word of commendation is due to the clear type and excellent illustrations.

The Feeble-minded: a Guide to Study and Practice. By E. B. SHERLOCK, M.D., B.Sc., D.P.H. With an Introductory Note by Sir H. B. DONKIN, M.D., F.R.C.P. (Macmillan and Co. 1911.) 8s. 6d. net.

'You cannot make people sober by an Act of Parliament' was a few years ago the cry of old-fashioned people when any legislation was proposed to deal with the alcoholic traffic. One seldom hears it now, because it has been recognized that Acts of Parliament have done a great deal to improve the drinking habits of the people within recent times.

Nevertheless there is the same sort of feeling forming a barrier of passive resistance against all attempts to benefit the public health by legislative enactments. More than twelve years ago, a Departmental Committee reported on the use of preservatives in foods, and recommended the entire prohibition of some, and the restriction of others within safe limits. All this time these recommendations have been carefully housed in a pigeon-hole; and during the past few months, an order from the Local Government Board, which gave effect to some of them, has been promulgated and then withdrawn for reconsideration, in answer to a protest from the milk vendors. The addition of borax to milk in order to conceal its decomposition, the adulteration and bleaching of flour by nitrous fumes and many other practices of like nature are allowed to continue their work of filling the pockets of the tradesmen, and ruining the digestion of their customers.

Just in the same way, history is repeating itself in reference to the care of the feeble-minded. A Commission sat, and a Commission reported, some years ago. Two belated bills, one a Government measure, and one that of a private member, have made their appearance this session; but, looking to the congested state of public business, he would be an optimist indeed who imagines that either of them has the faintest chance of being entered on the Statute Book yet awhile.

Those who regard the health of a nation as one of its greatest assets, and worthy of the attention of the Mother of Parliaments, may lament the apathy of the public, but it will not be until the public is really convinced upon what they at present regard as a technical question, or until the conscience of the nation is roused by something which appeals to their imagination, that the legislators will trouble their heads with questions of this nature.

In April of the present year, Dr. Robert Jones, the well-

known superintendent of Claybury Asylum, the largest of the asylums under the sway of the London County Council, contributed an admirable article to *The Times* on this subject. He made an earnest appeal to Parliament for the needed legislation. He pointed out that every day's delay manufactures new criminals, paupers, and degenerates. He shewed that, as the law at present stands, there is no power of detention over any member of this class. With desires uncontrolled and impulses unguarded, the feeble-minded are allowed to roam about at will and in wholly pernicious surroundings to which they are only too responsive. They constitute much of the vagrancy which terrorizes the country-side. They commit serious criminal acts quite unprovoked, and so get into the Police Courts directly or through the casual wards, where they tear up their clothing, and by refusing to do their allotted tasks become prisoners indirectly. In the opinion of Dr. Jones, over 20 per cent. of all Police Court cases are of this degenerate type, and the figure is put even higher by other authorities.

The only power in regard to such persons is the permissive control granted to Education Authorities under the Elementary Education and Epileptic Children Act of 1899, which provides a possible curriculum between the ages of five and sixteen years. But the period of adolescence just beyond this limit is the time of life above all others when most discipline and special treatment is necessary. It is the age when natural instincts are forced to the utmost and when, devoid of normal control and self-restraint, they become the greatest power for evil. Yet at this age, if properly taken in hand, a career of pauperism, criminality or hooliganism may be stopped at the outset, and a comparatively useful future may be substituted.

This thesis (and some of the foregoing passages are quoted almost verbatim from Dr. Jones' article) is maintained at greater length in the admirable book at present under review. Its author, Dr. Sherlock, was formerly an asylum superintendent, and so writes from practical experience. He is also a biologist, and thus speaks with scientific knowledge. The few trenchant sentences which Sir H. B. Donkin contributes as an introduction ought to bring conviction to the man in the street, if only the man in the street could be compelled to read them, and had the capacity for understanding them. Unfortunately it is the man in the street with whom the responsibility ultimately lies.

The book opens with a couple of chapters on the psychological side of the question ; but, after all, the basis of mind and the

nature of mental activity, interesting as they are from the academic point of view, have but little bearing on the practical methods of ministering to a mind diseased. Whether we are animists, or materialists, or believe in the doctrine of parallelism, we are all at one when the necessity of dealing with the feeble-minded is brought home to us.

The next section of the book is biological and treats of the brain, the organ of mind, in the various classes of animals, and in man both in health and disease.

The final chapters deal with the wide class included under the term 'feeble-minded,' the various subdivisions of it, and the need for variation in treatment according to the degree of the malady; and here the author writes in a way to be understood of the people. The only fault of the earlier chapters is their technicality; deeply interesting as they are, the jargon of the psychologist, the biologist and the doctor will make them hard reading even to the well-educated but non-scientific reader; most of it will be quite unintelligible to the persons whom it is most necessary to reach. For this reason one fears it will not do much to disturb the political atmosphere.

The scheme adopted by the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded is approved in its general outlines, though there are minor points on which criticism is offered. In its adoption of the classification of the feeble-minded which that Commission recommended, on the suggestion of the Royal College of Physicians, the book is a great advance on many previous works. Dr. Ireland's well-known classification is rejected as unscientific and incomplete, being mainly based on matters of opinion rather than of fact, and being partly anatomical, partly physiological, and partly etiological. Dr. Sherlock compares this classification to a division of human beings into those with red hair, those who subscribe to *The Times*, and those who take sugar in their tea. This, by the way, is the sole gleam of humour which illuminates his pages.

It is, however, not the purport of this review to condense or even enumerate all the subjects treated in the book, or in the Report of the Commission. Its object will be served if it succeeds in inducing those interested in the question to study Dr. Sherlock's book at their leisure; and still more if it persuades those who act as preachers and teachers of the public that the subject is one of the very gravest importance, and one which urgently demands the widespread attention of the voter and the legislator.

1. *Municipal Work from a Christian Standpoint.* By A. W. JEPHSON, M.A. 'Christian Social Union Handbooks' (Mowbray and Co. 1912.) 2s. net.
2. *Socialism and the Ethics of Jesus.* By HENRY C. VEDDER. (The Macmillan Company. 1912.) 6s. 6d. net.
3. *A Philosophy of Social Progress.* By E. J. URWICK, M.A. (Methuen and Co. 1912.) 6s.
4. *The Modern Prison Curriculum.* By R. F. QUINTON, M.D. (Macmillan and Co. 1912.) 5s. net.
5. *National Insurance.* By COMYNS CARR, STUART GARNETT and J. E. TAYLOR. (Macmillan and Co. 1912.) 6s.

THE care and labour obviously spent on Mr. Jephson's little book could hardly fail to produce a useful manual. The want of an index, however, and certain vagaries and confusions of expression to some extent detract from its value. Owing to the former defect it is hardly a book of reference, and owing to the latter and to the necessity of compression it is hardly a book to read. This is not, indeed, the only instance in which the singular capacity of the editor of the series for permeating dry bones with a living spirit has failed to infect his contributors. Only at the very last page is there any real attempt to weave Christianity into the fabric of 'Civics,' rather than sprinkle it, as an extraneous ornament, by way of fitting the normal product for a special market. How great an opportunity has been partly missed we shall realize if we ask ourselves, with Prof. Émile Boutroux :

'If to-day religion no longer exercises political authority, can it not still claim to shew the nations their ideal ends and to develop in them the faith, the love, the enthusiasm, the spirit of brotherhood and of self-devotion, the ardour and the constancy that are required in order to work for the carrying out of such ends?'

There may, however, be sound reasons for the dryness of this book; there can hardly be any for the multiplicity of such sentences as the following: 'From early times the burgesses, *as the dwellers in the municipalities are known*, were invested with representation in Parliament.' 'Only very gradually did the municipality become seized with the importance of supplying . . . a sanitary service.' 'When it is found that no house is now habitable and may not be occupied . . . which has not a covered drain.' 'To deal with bedding, clothing, etc., which has been

exposed to infection in a way so as to endanger another.' At page 187 there is a confident but by no means convincing interpretation of sacred and well-known words. It may be true that 'to use all the organized methods of public improvement is to-day a duty cast upon the Church,' but we are not prepared to find in the recognition of that duty a fulfilment of the prophecy 'Greater works than these shall ye do.'

The Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological seminary applies to Karl Marx the epigram 'There is no God and Marx is his prophet.' A Marxist might be tempted to retort 'There is no Church and Vedder is its historian.' It is true that the Professor is fond of the word 'Church,' uses it frequently, and has a chapter on 'The Social Failure of the Church.' Yet he tells us that while 'the religion that Jesus taught will never perish, the Church, institutional Christianity, has no such assurance of permanence' and 'There is nothing to indicate any purpose of Jesus to found a Church.' In his chapter on 'The attitude of the Churches and Ministers to Social Questions' he pleads earnestly for 'the Church,'—in the singular number,—as even, in some sense, 'an institution,' but in *what* sense we can only vaguely gather from his previous pronouncement (p. 442) that 'in the early organization there is no domination of the Churches, even by the Apostles, and no conception of the Churches as united in a single corporate body such as was indicated by the epithet "catholic" introduced in the Second century.'

The number of writers, Americans and others, who now dogmatize about 'the mind of Jesus,' pouring contempt on all but their own individual conceptions and, in particular, on the Christ of the Church, is, to say the truth, a weariness, and it is a relief to turn to the very readable earlier chapters in which Professor Vedder deals historically and critically with Socialism.

As St. Paul stands for what is anathema in early Christianity, and Luther, strangely enough, for the defects of the Reformation, so Karl Marx represents the lines on which Socialism must not proceed. 'The present evils of Society are caused by selfishness and greed; and the remedy Marx proposes is more greed and selfishness, the class struggle.'

Unlike too many writers on Socialism, this author does attempt to face the question of its economic possibility, though not, it must be said, without the aid of certain large assumptions. He is on safer ground, however, when he appeals to 'pictures'—such as Mr. Bellamy's *Looking Backward*—of how Socialism might

be supposed to work, arguing that 'the illustration of possibility successfully controverts dogmatic denial of possibility, but it does nothing more.' Socialism, he contends, must be evolutionary. 'The difference between a Utopia and an evolution is that one is thought out and the other is lived out,' and his conclusion is 'It will work, it must work. Whatever does not work cannot be evolutionary socialism.' This blend of pragmatism and empiricism is not unfamiliar in the old form of 'solvitur ambulando' but it does not necessarily set us moving. 'It is the first step that is costly.'

At page 197 and again at page 218 the writer refers to payment of members of Parliament in England as a subject with which 'Premier Asquith' stands pledged to deal. A book published in 1912 might be expected to recognize the fact that the money for this purpose was voted, and the first payments were made, in 1911. Two out of three quotations from Browning in the book are disfigured by inaccuracies fatal to the characteristic rhythm. In one indeed, from 'Fancies and Facts,' there are three errors in four lines; but the Professor has presumably authority for the substitution, in a passage from Markham's fine poem on Millet's Angelus, of

'Is this the Dream He dreamed Who shaped the suns,
And marked their ways upon the unknown deep'

for the familiar

'And pillared the blue firmament with light.'

Professor Urwick's book is not for the multitude in search of short cuts but rather for the few who can and will think steadily, shrinking neither from the sordid realities of the obvious nor from the beckonings of the Spirit. Perhaps the most valuable part of it is the most difficult. To be told, indeed, that there is no science of sociology is to be awakened from a nightmare. We had begun to fear that sociology was, indeed, the one obligatory subject of scientific study—a science of sciences, capable of being mastered if only we could bring to bear on it for several lifetimes the whole force of a considerable intellect and a robust constitution. It had even been suggested that it might take several men (or women)—possibly an Academic Board or University—to make one sociologist. But to escape from sociology as a science is clearly not to find rest in any haven of vague philosophic generalities. In clearing the ground, however, for the foundations of a constructive philosophy of social progress,

Professor Urwick throws out useful suggestions on many important subjects, such as Marriage and Eugenics, Education and the Conservatism of the Public School, the limitations of the 'Social Organism' theory, the relation of the individual to Society, Charity and Almsgiving, Socialism, its merits and defects and especially its tendency to look too much at property and too little at 'ideas.'

But from the first there have been hints at something deeper and more startling, and at last, in the eighth chapter, we have an almost sudden outburst of the somewhat mystical idea by which, as the rest of the book shews, the writer is really dominated.

'So far,' he says, 'I have emphasized the sharp distinction between self and soul and the antagonism between them. Following all exponents of the implication of our spiritual nature I have contrasted the unreality of the one with the essential reality of the other.'

And then he proceeds to step out of this which he apparently conceives as common ground.

'This sharp distinction will not fit with the facts we are considering. However valuable it may be for the mystic, it leaves the social philosopher in an impossible position, faced, as it were, by two aspects of a duality neither of which can be brought into any intelligible relation with the other.'

Yet he knows well enough that they *are* related; that self and soul interact continually and that the social life in which the interactions take place has a very definite reality which is not destroyed by contrasting it with the absolute.

And again, defining the 'self' as 'the whole equipment of mental powers and propensities'—derived from nature and modified by social influences, with which each of us works as a human being, he explains:

'To express the relation of this self to the soul we may describe it, though only by metaphor, and therefore dangerously, as the living garment or case (elsewhere called "shell") of the soul, from and through which the soul has eventually to break away. But meanwhile the soul is changing the case from within and social life is perpetually moulding it from without.'

This soul is, however, specially 'supra-social,' and character, in the highest sense, is neither individual nor social, but 'the rare emanation of the true soul dominating its shell completely.' This character 'appears very intermittently in good people and is the permanent possession only of the saint.' And so 'the

importance of the social process is found to lie not in its social effects, not even in its moral effects, in the ordinary sense, but in its supra-social reactions, in its indirect effects, that is, upon the progress of the individual soul,' and thus the real reformer's work is always a religious work, though seldom recognized as such by others, or even by himself. This will, of course, seem to many a hard saying, but it is certainly not fair to either author or reader to treat the former as an early Greek philosopher whose system must be pieced together by inference from pregnant fragments. And if Mr. Urwick has, himself, an occasional tendency to offer pregnant fragments rather than a reasoned system, he may at least claim to be taken seriously or let alone.

The worst that can be said of Dr. Quinton's book is that it is not a contribution of any great depth or originality to the difficult and important subject with which it deals. It may be added that the leading thoughts are not always easy to trace through the somewhat arbitrary headings under which the book is arranged, and there is no index. On the other hand, many useful facts have been collected out of long practical experience and these are placed in a setting of moderation and sound sense free alike from emotional distortion and theoretical prejudice.

The statement at page 245-6, that 'all children and young persons have been already excluded from prisons,' is not, as regards 'young persons,' a strictly accurate presentment of the 102nd section of the 'Children's Act, 1908,' which makes an exception in the case of young persons too unruly or depraved for other treatment. 'Indeterminate sentences' are somewhat ambiguously banned and blessed, and the pressing difficulty of reconciling slow and effective processes of reformation with English respect for liberty is rather indicated than solved. It is, however, satisfactory to find Sir Oliver Lodge's plea that 'it is a serious matter to confiscate a part of a man's life,' taken for what it is worth. To take a portion of a man's life for compulsory discipline of character is hardly to confiscate it, for

'He that lacks time to mourn lacks time to mend:
Eternity mourns that.'

And the whole system of 'long homes' for rescue work among women, though based on initial consent, assumes this view.

Another rash utterance wisely questioned is Mr. Harold Begbie's proposal to

'do away with the formality of prison chaplains, men who often perform their perfunctory duties with little enthusiasm and with

little hope of achieving anything; and admit, under proper authority, some such organization as the Salvation Army, which has in its ranks many men who have themselves suffered in prison, who know the criminal mind, and who would approach the most deplorable and hopeless case with the certain knowledge that conversion is possible.'

Bishop King of Lincoln has surely shewn that innocence is not incompatible with hopefulness or with success in dealing with criminals. The better enforcement of the Inebriates Act, 1898, is rightly advocated, and there is a useful chapter on vagrancy.

With the optimistic statement (at page 45) that the discharged convict who is really willing to amend can always get from an Aid society help which is often out of the reach of the ordinary 'unemployed,' and 'so keen are the societies to "place" promising converts that the criminal often gets a pull over the honest man'—we may compare the curious authentic letter from an ex-convict in the July number of the *Hibbert Journal*. The writer of that letter makes the astonishing statement that, being sentenced to twelve months' 'Borstal' treatment, he was put into the carpenter's shop, where he *learnt nothing that was of any practical use to him*. Disappointed of the promised employment on his release he 'did something that was rather illegal,' followed this by a few more 'unlawful acts,' and finally took to peddling first without and then with a licence (fraudulently obtained) and he thus naively concludes:

'Owing to having so much trouble over looking for jobs, I now detest the sight of hard work and am sure that I'll never do any if I can possibly help it. Prison is responsible for that, although, of course, I was never extraordinarily fond of hard work.'

If Messrs Comyns Carr, Stuart Garnett and Taylor have not, in spite of superhuman industry, succeeded in making the Insurance Act simple to employers and employed, they have attained what was perhaps their real purpose in producing a useful book of reference for those who desire to work out for themselves each minor problem as it arises. Any one who has been concerned in the administration of Acts of Parliament knows that difficulties are apt to be discovered by experience, and the most careful manual written before an Act comes into operation is sure to require, before long, both extension and correction.

The National Insurance Act, 1911, being, avowedly, a colossal measure of economic philanthropy—nothing less indeed than

the substitution, in an important field, of secured and definite rights for widely varying personal claims and relations—could not have been without its complexities for the draftsman, the commentator and the public. As it is, the initial difficulties presented by it are such as to suggest a truly alarming vista of future problems. From the position of the charwoman to the grades of benefit obtainable under the Act and the relation of the Treasury to 'benefit' and 'contribution' respectively, the riddles which are suggested in the introduction, notes and text and have to be hauled through reference and cross-reference are so many and so hard that one can only admire the confidence with which the author of the Act introduces the book and its writers. 'A clear and concise explanation of a measure of such complexity . . . is of great importance to a large number of people who cannot but be anxious to know exactly what their position is.'

Chapters iv. and vi. of the Introduction, dealing respectively with 'The Medical Profession' and 'Finance,' are at once especially valuable and especially distracting to all but doctors and actuaries—if indeed these should be excepted.

VI.—MISSIONS.

Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or ours. A Study of the Church in the Four Provinces. By the Rev. ROLAND ALLEN, M.A. 'Library of Historic Theology.' (R. Scott. 1912.) 5s. net.

THIS book is an interesting sign of the progress of the missionary spirit in the Church. For we find in it a retired missionary not pleading for obedience to the missionary call, much less justifying missionary work, but criticizing unsparingly the methods pursued by missionaries, speaking again and again of 'failure,' and pointing to St. Paul's methods—not only his principles, but his methods—as the remedy.

The main points of criticism raised by the book will not be new to students of missionary literature and those who are concerned with missionary policy; but they are here brought together with a completeness, and pressed on the reader's attention with a vigour—an almost dictatorial vigour—and with a confident assurance of support in the great example of St. Paul, that we can remember in no other book which deals with the subject. The book is a challenge, a severe and

strongly-worded criticism, and we trust that its tone, and the criticism which it will in many points naturally and, we believe, rightly evoke, may not hinder the fulfilment of the writer's desire 'that we should gain a true understanding of the real character of the Apostolic practice, and of the principles upon which it was based,' and 'reconsider our methods' (Preface).

The chief faults which Mr. Allen finds in our methods are these :

1. Our strategic centres of missionary work are in a great many cases not centres of evangelistic life. In them indeed our best men are locked up as in a prison.

2. In matters financial we assist native congregations and retain the control in our own hands, instead of leaving them to finance their own church work, and contenting ourselves with the support of our missionaries.

3. *Evangelistic Preaching*.—' St. Paul did not go on preaching for years to men who refused to act on his teaching.' We persevere in 'teaching people who deliberately refuse to give us a moral hearing, in spite of the fact that near at hand are men who are eager and willing to give us that moral hearing' (p. 105).

4. *Training of Converts*.—St. Paul established independent Churches with an ordained ministry in a few months. He taught the few to instruct the many. We have accomplished no such result. We found a 'Mission' (*i.e.* an organization of a 'missionary or missionaries, and their paid helpers supported by a foreign Society'), which checks the independent growth of the body of native Christians, and quenches their evangelistic zeal.

For baptism our preparatory teaching is too long and elaborate, and in deciding who should be admitted we have almost invariably violated the Pauline principle of the mutual responsibility of the whole body by throwing the whole responsibility upon a foreign teacher.

As regards the ministry, we ordain too few. We demand a long and expensive college education and a purely artificial standard of learning. We have made too much of the intellectual test.

5. *Authority*.—Unlike St. Paul, we appeal habitually to law and precedent, and attempt to administer a code alien to the thought of the people.

6. *Discipline*.—St. Paul strove to arouse the conscience of the

Body rather than to proceed against the individual, and thus he encouraged the sense of common responsibility of all members. Our modern method is exactly the opposite of his.

7. *Unity*.—We are so afraid of schism that we simply transplant abroad the organization, Prayer Book and ritual, with which we are familiar at home. We make unity a matter of organization, not of spirit.

Thus, in general, whereas St. Paul speedily established Churches, taught them their independence and mutual responsibility, and left them largely to themselves, we establish no Churches, and our foreign missionaries remain to dominate our numerous converts with disastrous effect. The Christianity which results is exotic, dependent, uniform. The causes of this failure are our racial and religious pride, lack of faith, reliance on systems; and the remedy lies in the adoption of St. Paul's methods.

Such are the charges made in general terms and with but little qualification. To those who are unfamiliar with modern missionary work we believe the book will give a distorted picture of the aims, efforts, and effects of missionary devotion. But Mr. Allen does not write for such readers, and would, no doubt, disclaim the intention of presenting a complete view of mission work. His book is meant to criticize and suggest. He is, no doubt, well aware how familiar to the minds of most missionary leaders are his main points—for the trend of their policy is in the direction he desires. If his book assists the more complacent and conservative of the supporters at home and of the workers abroad boldly to reconsider their methods, to experiment, and to encourage in native converts independence, self-government, and mutual responsibility more effectually than has been the custom hitherto, it will accomplish a good work.

But Mr. Allen exposes himself to much criticism. Limiting himself to the short period of A.D. 47–57 and to St. Paul's methods alone, he writes as though the Pastoral Epistles dealt with a period which concerned us but little, and as though the methods he describes were the only methods in which the Apostolic principles can now rightly find expression. Whereas it may reasonably be asked how far, in the first 100 years, let us say, St. Paul's methods were supplemented by those of other members of the Body of the Church.

He writes of all mission fields, though naming occasionally China and India, and lays great stress on his view that the soil wherein modern missionaries sow the seed differs in no essentials

from that which St. Paul found. He takes here an extreme position which we do not think is correct, or necessary for the support of the policy in general which he advocates, although necessary to justify the stringency of his condemnations.

His estimate of the value of the synagogue and the influence of its Jewish and Gentile adherents will be shared by few students. For in his eyes the synagogue seems indeed to have presented a difficulty rather than a help. We cannot share his estimate either of the worth of Jewish opinion in the minds of the Roman and Greek, or of the value of the *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

Mr. Allen seems indeed to have in view an opponent who imagines that the synagogue and its adherents made so vast a difference that there 'can be no comparison between a Church in which they were and a Church in which they were not,' and he writes: 'If half our converts had been Jews or proselytes I think it would have made little difference. We have had plenty of good and able converts. In this St. Paul had no advantage over us.'

But this will not convince the man who holds that on the shores of the Mediterranean the world was by Divine providence so marvellously prepared for Christianity that the apologist of to-day has to shew how the Gospel was more than the mere product of those times, more than the merely natural fruit of which they were the stalk. Dr. Talbot's essay, in *Lux Mundi*, on 'The Preparation in History for Christ,'—the preparation in Jew and Gentile, which reached its highest point in the devout Jews and devout Gentiles found in the synagogue—describes it as 'something much to be "wondered at," and something marvellously suited to foster and assist the growth of the Gospel . . . when the seed of Divine fact should be sown on the prepared soil.'

One who agrees with Dr. Talbot will urge, in making the comparison between St. Paul's work and ours, that in the historical, political, and religious conditions of St. Paul's time and field of labour, and especially in 'the steady impact of the religious faith of the Jews, scattered everywhere, and everywhere, as we know, to an extraordinary extent leavening society' (Dr. Talbot), we have a preparation of a seed-plot for the Gospel to which it will be difficult to find a parallel.

For the future growth and health of a Church, the first converts are, as Mr. Allen sees, of the greatest importance. In the Churches to which he directs us, and on the history of which he bases his contention, the first converts were precisely those

Jews and 'devout' Gentiles on whom, it is reasonable to hold, the *Praeparatio Evangelica* had its fullest effect. But Mr. Allen's position is that under St. Paul's hand the seed of the Gospel quickly—in ten years—produced Churches which apprehended his teaching, and could be left to themselves. It is not so with us. The fault lies in our methods. The difference of soil has had no appreciable influence; it may be disregarded in the comparison.

We think few will agree with him in the latter part of the contention on which he bases his criticism, but we trust that the call for reconsideration of methods which his book so forcibly puts forth will receive close attention, and we hope that the attention we desire may not be diverted by the impetuosity which is prominent in his pages, and of which we give two examples. The first illustrates the haste with which he deals with Apostolic history, the second his method of presenting modern missionary work.

(1) Speaking of the practice of sending a catechist who conducts a service and preaches a sermon (p. 120), Mr. Allen writes: 'St. Paul did not send catechists, he took them away. Timothy, Titus, Secundus, Gaius, and the rest, after a short time, left their native congregations and followed St. Paul.'

Mr. Allen assumes that the men named were catechists, and that St. Paul withdrew them lest their presence should hinder the native Christians from giving and receiving mutual instruction, and thus developing their own capacities. But the New Testament says nothing of the kind, and if St. Paul left several presbyters in each place, it would serve Mr. Allen's purpose better to explain why St. Paul did not withdraw them also.

A more true and profitable use of the mention of these fellow-workers of the Apostle would lie, we think, in using them to illustrate the Pauline method of working in the company of assistant missionaries as contrasted with the isolation so commonly encouraged by us.

(2) 'In our dealings with native converts we habitually appeal to law. . . . Without satisfying their minds or winning the consent of their consciences, we settle all questions with a word' (p. 156). Few who know our missionaries will agree with this sweeping condemnation of all, and its refusal even to recognize their efforts to gain that result which Mr. Allen implies they invariably fail to achieve.

Missionary Adventures. A Simple History of the S.P.G. By GEORGIANA M. FORDE. (Skeffington and Son. 1911.) 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is what it describes itself—a simple little book, and mainly intended for children, though, as the Bishop of Winchester says in his Preface, it should be useful to ‘not a few grown-ups’ as well. It is certainly the best book we have met with for commending the story of the S.P.G. to young people. Children need ‘adventures’ to allow them to read a book with interest; and adventures, whether in the Mission-field or elsewhere, are here given them in wonderful profusion, considering the size of the book and the ground it has to cover. The tales of the English sentry and the Indian dressed in a hog’s skin, of Bishop Bompas’ journey home from Canada (before he was Bishop) in 1873, of Mr. Brett and his life in British Guiana, of Mr. Leacock, Mr. Duport, and Chief Wilkinson in West Africa, of Mr. Matthews and the Bush children in Australia, of the young Dyak Igoh and the young Hawaiian Obookiah, are only a few of the multitude of short but interesting stories contained in this volume. We hope it will be made a text-book by many parents of intelligent children, who wish to interest them in the past and present work of the S.P.G.

Papua. A Handbook to its History, Inhabitants, Physical Features, and Resources, &c. Compiled from Government Records and other Sources. By W. C. PRITCHARD, M.A. (Melb.), D.D. (Toronto), Archdeacon of Broken Hill, N.S.W. With an Appendix on the Health Conditions of Papua. By R. FLEMING JONES, M.D., Government Medical Officer, Samarai. (S.P.C.K. 1911.) 1s. 6d.

DR. PRITCHARD has been successful in condensing much information within the compass of this handbook without rendering it tedious to read. The historical sketch records the apathy of British statesmen in the early ‘seventies, when strong appeals were sent from Australia that the whole of the Eastern half of Papua might be annexed. The result of indecision is that British territory now marches with that of Germany for several hundred miles. The accounts given of the native Papuans are derived from the best sources, while for commercial dates, recourse has been had to official publications. The part played by missionaries as pioneers in opening up the interior parts of the

great island is well described. Papua yields an abundance of valuable timber; rubber of a high grade has been collected already; and on the smaller islands especially the yield of mines is an important item in the budget. Strategically, the position of Papua is of enormous value to the Commonwealth of Australia.

Dr. Jones has contributed a clear and concise account of the precautions to be taken by settlers or others visiting Papua, in order to avoid the more important diseases inseparable from tropical conditions.

The illustrations have been well chosen, and with the exception of the map are good. The text is clear: one or two words do not seem to be correctly spelt; thus on p. 6, it seems that for the word 'Gellwick,' the better known name Geelvink should be substituted. On p. 26, for Giglioni (twice), Giglioli should be read.

An Outpost in Papua. By the Rev. A. K. CHIGNELL, Priest of the New Guinea Mission. (Smith, Elder. 1911.) 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is the most unconventional of missionary books, and one of the most fascinating. Let it be described in words taken from the Archbishop of Brisbane's short Preface.

'There is the work of the Imagination, whereby we seek to grasp the everyday facts of Mission Work, and make them live before our eyes as we sit at home. . . . Mr. Chignell describes his daily life, and the people who form part of it, just as it strikes him. And the freshness and humour, the varying moods, and the flavour of personal experience pervading the whole, make together a picture which grips the imagination. We see how the days pass upon a Mission Station, we learn how much routine there is, and yet how often perplexing situations arise; we find, to our illumination, how much of a Missionary's time and thought must necessarily be given to the subject of his dinner!'

Mr. Chignell's fund of humour is indeed never-failing; his book is one to be read, re-read, and laughed over, and yet at the same time to edify—for its purpose is as serious as that of the most earnest missionary sermon. Life-like indeed are his characters of 'Peter,' 'Reuben,' 'William,' and many others! Two of his chapters, 'With Precaution' and 'The Worthless One,' are of special interest and importance; they prove up to the hilt, from the author's own experience, that provided he takes certain definite precautions—there set forth in detail—a man can live a perfectly healthy life in New Guinea, and, in particular, can be sure of avoiding the dreaded 'malarial fever.' The last chapter

of all, 'On Holy Ground,' is throughout a description of noble and successful missionary work, and yet it is as full of humour as any chapter in the book!

Islands of Enchantment. By FLORENCE COOMBE. With 100 Photographs by J. W. BEATTIE. (Macmillan and Co. 1911.) 12s. net.

THIS large volume is the work of a lady who some time ago was privileged to visit the Melanesian Islands on board the *Southern Cross*. Struck with the beauty of the islands and the primitive habits of the people, even where they are Christian, she has carefully recorded her impressions of all she saw and heard. Melanesian folk-lore abounds in her pages, together with descriptions of the loveliest tropical scenery, and of customs, tribal and otherwise, some good, some bad, but all alike strange to a white man, and interesting from their very strangeness. Belief in ghosts, magic, and other superstitions are bound up with every Melanesian's life in his heathen state, and hard to shake off, even when he has learned Christ. But bright indeed is the true Light to these darkened souls. Miss Coombe's book is not of a directly missionary character; her aim is to describe the islands, their inhabitants, the conditions under which they live, their manners and customs; but incidentally, at almost every turn, she shews how head-hunting, cannibalism, treachery, cruelty, infanticide, and many another abomination have vanished, or are vanishing, wherever the Cross has been planted; while the conversions of such men as Taki or Soga, related in her pages, serve to remind us that now, as ever, 'with God all things are possible.' Apart from its other merits, the book is one of the best *independent* testimonies that has ever appeared to the abiding success of the Melanesian Mission.

The Life of Dr. Arthur Jackson, of Manchuria. By the Rev. ALFRED J. COSTAIN, M.A. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 2s. net.

A SHORT story of a short life! But full of beautiful, nay, heroic interest. A sentence in the Introduction sums up the whole book: 'What is a hero but one who has constantly done his duty in ordinary circumstances, and one day is called upon to do his duty under extraordinary circumstances?' We invite

all who read this notice to buy the book, read—not lightly, but attentively and with care—the tale of Jackson's earlier life, and compare it with what follows: the two together will point their own moral. All too thrilling is the account of the plague in Manchuria in January 1911—the deadliest outbreak for centuries, in which there was no known case of recovery. To save China and her teeming millions, train-loads of coolies, going southward to keep the Chinese New Year, had to be detained at Mukden at all costs. Jackson volunteered for the post of danger, at the railway-station and in the neighbouring inns, and for ten days laboured at once to arrest the southward march of the disease, and to save, by prompt isolation, the lives of the unfortunate men entrusted to his care. He succeeded, at the cost of his own life. The words of the Viceroy of Manchuria at the Memorial Service may well be quoted: 'Our sorrow is beyond measure; our grief too deep for words. . . . The Chinese Government has lost a man who gave his life in his desire to help them. O Spirit of Dr. Jackson, we pray you intercede for the twenty million people of Manchuria!' Medical Missions, not in Manchuria alone, will be quickened indeed by the memory of Arthur Jackson.

Half a Century in China. By the Ven. ARTHUR EVANS MOULE, B.D., sometime Archdeacon in Mid-China. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 7s. 6d. net.

ARCHDEACON MOULE's book possesses historical interest as the record of almost unique experience in an unique land, fifty years prolonged. And it is a picture of the China of the past, so strangely unlike the China of the present, with an account of the dawn of the new era in recent times. The chapter on 'Shanghai, Past and Present,' is in this respect fairly representative of the whole book. Little did the author dream, at the time he wrote it, of the revolution which was soon to sweep away so many ancient landmarks, even the Imperial Throne itself! But this only makes the book the more valuable, as a lifelike portrait of a state of society and a form of government which may never, perhaps, be even nominally restored, but which not long ago were supreme in (numerically) the mightiest nation on earth. The author's love of China and the Chinese is intense, his account of their faults candid but discriminating, his belief in their future enthusiastic, combined with anxiety to preserve all that is best in

their past traditions. Thus, *e.g.* he deplores the tendency of some of the younger generation to discard the ancient Chinese code of courtesy and good manners ; and is more than desirous that large portions at least of the Chinese classics should still be part of their education. The loss of what is best in the teaching of Confucius would, he feels, be a national misfortune. But he is a true missionary. ' Every knee shall bow to Christ alone ; not one to idol, or hero, or philosopher, or sage.' And much of the book is taken up with missionary journeys and missionary preaching, with many a record of truly wonderful conversions to Christ under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

The Future of Africa. By DONALD FRASER. (C.M.S. 1911.)
2s. net.

THIS volume is one of the Missionary Study Circle Text-books, issued conjointly by the leading Missionary Societies in Great Britain. It is written by Mr. Fraser, a missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland in Nyasaland. We can commend it as inferior in interest to none of its predecessors. It is not even simply a missionary book, for its early chapters are in the main an account of the discovery of Central and South Africa, and their subsequent opening up to the world, together with the establishment of the various European protectorates. The story is clearly and brightly told, and the deeds of such men as Prince Henry of Portugal, of Mungo Park, Macgregor Laird, Sir George Taubman Goldie—above all, of Livingstone—are related with the warmest sympathy ; so is the recent occupation of Africa by Europe, the good results (save in the case of the Congo State) being shewn far to outweigh the bad ones, notably with regard to the suppression of slavery. As for the purely missionary part of the book, it is full of most interesting details packed into a small compass ; there is hardly a page that does not contain something really worth remembering. The horrors of paganism are related, but with discrimination ; the work as yet done for Christ shewn to be noble, but all too limited in area. The facts of present, the needs of future, missionary labour ; its bright hopes, its many difficulties ; its social and religious results, stories like those of Africaner or Khama, all pass in order before us. There is one necessary, but notable, omission. Paganism is the enemy throughout ; Islam and its dangers are only briefly alluded to, and the book should be read side by side with Mr. Gairdner's *The Reproach of Islam*.

VII.—PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

Christ on Parnassus. Lectures on Art, Ethic, and Theology.

By P. T. FORSYTH, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.)
10s. 6d. net.

DR. FORSYTH has given us a very thoughtful and interesting book. The title offends us in more ways than one; indeed, we frequently wish that Dr. Forsyth would not make use of bizarre forms of expression, which do injustice to the real reverence of his thought. But the substance of the book is very different from the title. Though Dr. Forsyth's main interests lie in the region of ethics and theology, he has a real love and appreciation for art in all its forms, and he has much to say about the relations of the three which is of high value.

The first two lectures deal with Greek Art and Religion. Here, and in all the first part of the book, Dr. Forsyth reproduces the teaching of Hegel. Greece, he holds, affords the one exception to the rule that the influence of religion upon art has been more powerful and more beneficial than the influence of art upon religion. The Greeks felt themselves overwhelmed neither by nature as the Indians did, nor by the Divine greatness as the Hebrews did; they felt themselves on an equality and in harmony with nature. Like Robert Browning in *Old Pictures in Florence*, Dr. Forsyth holds that Greek art was perfect, because the material with which it worked was adequate to all that it had to express. 'No more is to be said or done till the spirit receives such an accession of strength or insight as carries home the inadequacy of Nature, and casts the soul upon the resources of the Unseen and Eternal in longing dependence and prayer.' The third lecture deals with Hebrew Art and Religion. The failure of the Hebrews to develop art is ascribed in part to the character of their religion, in part to the character of the people, and in part to their country and history. More original, but also, in part, more disputable are Lectures IV–VII, in which Dr. Forsyth deals with Christian Art, especially with Christian Painting and Architecture. With his account of the general influence of Christianity we have no quarrel. Not only did it affect the subjects which painters selected, but by giving an infinite value to the individual it opened a new field to art, the expression of individuality and shades of character.

'It is pagan art, whether in Michel Angelo or Rubens, which deifies the creature, heroises the bodily form, makes the saints

courtly and superior persons, the Apostles stately, or even gigantic, lords of the superman rather than of the God-Man. And it is Christian art which goes to the realism of human nature as Rembrandt did, and finds the divine most present in the form of servants, poor and laden, where humanity has little but its human nature.'

That is surely most true. But when Dr. Forsyth goes on to deal with the influence upon art of different forms of Religion and of national character, we feel that his own sympathies at times lead him both to an unfair selection of facts, and to conclusions which not even the facts which he has selected will justify. French art, for example, is entirely ignored, and Spanish art almost entirely, while Protestant Germany receives more than its due. Not only does Dr. Forsyth attempt to connect with Teutonic influence the expression of individuality in art, but he sees Teutonic idealism in 'that sublime and mystic quality which pervades and distinguishes Italian art,' and this too, though he immediately adds that 'we find in purely Teutonic art the realism getting the upper hand, and the idealism often quite lost.' The last three lectures deal respectively with Music, Poetry, and the relations which exist between Art, Ethic, and Religion. These are, we think, the most valuable in the book. Dr. Forsyth is himself rather a religious and ethical teacher than an art critic, and it is in the concluding chapters that he reaches his own proper ground. In them he does not deal so much with the influence of religion upon art, as with the points both of contact and of contrast between them. 'Art blesses the soul, but cannot save it.' Music may lead us into 'a vague world of formless impulse, lawless emotion, vacant yearning, and impossible dreams.' Poetry cannot 'assure us of the absolute reality of these forms of thought, purpose, feeling, or character which it marshals before us.' But

'Religion blends all the faculties in supreme accord. It is musical in that the element of pure emotion takes a prominent place. It is poetical in that it has an imaginative vision of beauteous forms and images of good beyond our emotion. It is philosophical in that it is real, and has the passion for reality. But it is what it is—it is religion—in that it blends all those in an attitude of will, while keeping uppermost the sense of reality and the assurance of faith in the practical form of personal certainty and trust of a Person.'

These are but examples of Dr. Forsyth's teaching. The whole of the last three lectures is worthy of careful study.

Communion with God. The Preparation before Christ and the Realization in Him. By DARWELL STONE, D.D., and D. C. SIMPSON, M.A. (T. and T. Clark. 1911.) 4s. net.

THE purpose of this book is 'to give a history of the search for God, and of God's self-revelation.' Part III has already appeared as a section of the article on 'Communion with Deity' in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and contains a careful collection of New Testament passages, which illustrate the subject of the book. To this have been added, in Part I, a study of the preparation for Christianity in ideas outside revealed Hebrew religion, and in Part II a study of the preparation through ideas within it. The value of the book lies not in any special originality, but in the width of the ground which, in less than two hundred pages, has been surveyed, and in the care with which the most important facts have been selected. The book is written in a thoroughly critical spirit, though we are not troubled with unimportant critical detail, and it takes account of such recent material as the Odes of Solomon. The style is not very attractive; indeed, the close compression of material renders beauty of style almost impossible; but both the Christian apologist and the Christian preacher will find here most valuable material for their use. The Appendix contains a list of books suggested for further study, and there is an excellent Index of Scripture texts.

Everyman's Religion. By GEORGE HODGES. (The Macmillan Co. 1911.) 6s. 6d. net.

MR. HODGES has written a very valuable and refreshing book. It consists of a collection of addresses or essays on the fundamentals of Christianity, and it is full of wise things, epigrammatically put. Here are some of them:

'How shall we argue with the Shah of Persia who was greatly pleased with the tuning of the orchestra, and greatly bored by the symphony?'

'A good working description of life is that which defines it as response to environment.'

'The old proposition—mistaken in one thing, mistaken in everything—may do very well in logic, but it does not work at all in actual life. Our senses, for example, are notoriously defective. . . . But they are good enough for practical purposes. So it is with the Bible.'

'Shall oxygen and hydrogen continue, while faith and reverence and self-sacrifice and honour and affection perish?'

We should imagine that Mr. Hodges' standpoint is that of a Broad Churchman. He is a little bit careless as to the scientific formulation of dogma. Thus his statements as to the Person of Christ savour of Sabellianism, though we should be surprised to hear that the author accepted such a label. He has a keen intellectual interest, but it is always for the exploiting of religion for practical purposes. He is a religious inventor, not a scientific discoverer. 'We know,' he says, 'enough about the law of gravitation to use it in our business, and we know enough about electricity to turn on the current which lights the lamps.' The stress on doctrine he attributes, as Harnack does, to Greek influence. Has he sufficiently considered the importance attached to St. Peter's confession in answer to the question, 'Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am?' The result is that Mr. Hodges is a little over-latitude in his theory, though not in his practice. He protests strongly against the consecration of hatred to the service of religion, but he is a good enough hater himself—witness the fine passage beginning 'The worship of the old gods, Bacchus and Venus, is still maintained' (p. 200). Also he is somewhat loose in his use of terms. But it is unfair to the book to call attention to these rare blemishes. It should be read by all clergy who wish to give a fresh presentation of familiar themes to their congregations, and by all laymen who wish to receive such.

Faith and Experience. An Analysis of the Factors of Religious Knowledge. By ARTHUR CHANDLER, Bishop of Bloemfontein. (Methuen and Co. 1911.) 3s. 6d.

THIS book is a most welcome and timely protest against 'the militant exclusiveness' of the 'many rival and exclusive theories of religious knowledge' which are constantly appearing. The Bishop writes:

'Each theory tacitly or explicitly claims to occupy the whole ground, and to be the doctrine of Christian epistemology. And great is the confusion and perplexity which results. A man who has been living for years in the tranquil profession and practice of his religion wakes up one morning to hear himself, to his dismay, described as a "charcoal burner," with the obvious implication that his faith is irrational and worthless.'

This scorn of the *foi du charbonnier*, which is a term used for the purpose of pouring contempt on the simple faith of pious people.

is a favourite attitude of certain modernists, who do not know what they are deriding.

' If he alleges in defence that he tries to listen to God's voice, and believes that he hears it speaking in his heart, and that therein he finds a justification for his religion, he finds himself labelled, either approvingly or contemptuously, as a Mystic and a Quietist. If he pleads that his faith verifies itself for him in the practical help which it gives him in times of trouble and perplexity, he learns that without knowing it he has been a Pragmatist and a Modernist all his life, and is doubtful whether this is to his credit or not. If in despair he goes back to the Gospel and declares that there at any rate is the sheet anchor of his belief, he will be met by the curt inquiry whether by " the Gospel " he understands a system of " apocalyptic eschatology or one of ethico-religious prophecy." And by that time the unfortunate man hardly knows where he is, or whether he has any right to call himself a Christian at all.'

This is not at all an exaggerated description of the state of mind of many people who do not, and probably for the most part cannot, give any intelligible account of the discomfort and apprehension they feel. Nothing is more significant of the present unrest prevalent in people whose minds have not grasped the fullness of the Faith, whose hearts are not ' whole with God,' than the settled conviction found in numerous *soi-disant* Christians that prayer has only a subjective value; that personal immortality is questionable, that our Lord is a very shadowy figure, and so on. There are all sorts and degrees of this unbelief, and an elementary theological education would dispel much of it so far as good people are concerned.

Dr. Chandler has tried to analyze the constituents of our religious experience. The factors of that ' rich, complex, many-coloured product which we call religious knowledge are two, Faith and Experience.' Faith is ' the intellectual acceptance of certain rational principles and historical facts.' Experience is ' the operation of a whole multitude of instincts, desires and impulses which make up the affective and volitional nature.'

The Bishop discusses the origin of all religious knowledge, the primitive impulses of primitive man, which result in Totemism and the gradual development of the rational idea of God, the conflict of the intellectual ideas of God with the ideas of the sense of sin and the need of forgiveness. Christianity is shewn to satisfy both the desire to know God and the desire to be reconciled to God.

' Religious experience, if it is to be anything more than a blank abstract feeling of infinity, must be focused upon some definite

beliefs. In the case of the earliest Christians it was focused on the belief that Christ was their divine Saviour and that His claim to be such was justified by His resurrection. If these articles of belief were either abandoned or regarded as inessential, the experience itself would fade and disappear. Christian experience, like Christian morality, grows out of Christian faith, and withers and dies when cut off from that which is its root.

And, secondly, a document like the Nicene Creed, in which these and similar beliefs are formulated, does indeed differ from the Gospel revelation in its mode of expression, but does not do so (as has often been shown) in the facts expressed. In this respect it differs *toto coelo* from subsequent formularies, and justifies us in regarding it as a true product of theology, as distinguished from the varying systems of religious philosophy.

Lastly, to argue that the Gospel record itself, as opposed to pure spiritual experience, is already infected by philosophy and must therefore be classed with what is variable or shifting, shows a strange callousness to a very patent fact. Nothing is more striking than the resolute way in which speculation and controversy are excluded from the synoptic narrative. The writers believed indeed in Christ's divinity, but they set themselves to tell the story of His life with a grave simplicity which is not at all concerned with ideals of philosophy; It would have been well indeed if Strauss had done the same !

Each age endeavours to make for itself a theory of the universe. Scholasticism was the philosophy of the Middle Ages. Our modern philosophy is partly pantheistic, much dominated by the conception of *l'évolution créatrice* (there is a very illuminating note on M. Bergson's book); another generation will criticize us and our philosophy. But though 'revelation is capable of being expressed in the categories of to-day, it is not in the least in the world committed irrevocably to them.'

Dr. Chandler's treatise possesses *balance* in a marked degree. Each of the aspects of the Gospel is brought to our notice, and the phenomenon, so real, yet so often ignored, of the spiritual life, is discussed with the knowledge and reverence which are found in those who are masters of the science of that life. The chapter on 'Prayer' is especially beautiful.

'Religious knowledge is a subtle and complex thing, due to the delicate interaction of a variety of forces. It rests on faith, but it is not identical with intellectual assent; it is not at all the same as controversy or argument, and is different again from a system of philosophy.

It rests, too, on feeling and volition; but it is quite different from artistic or cosmic emotion, and quite different, again, from modern civilization and its "morality." Directly the intellect becomes too prominent, it has to be set to work to educate the heart, and thereby to educate itself. The objective and the subjective, faith and

experience, the intellect and the heart, label them as we will, those are the two distinct factors of religious knowledge. They interact at every stage; each helps and is helped by the other, and both are helped by the Holy Ghost; the connexion between them grows closer and closer, till at last, as they are fused more perfectly into one, the joints and seams disappear, and religious knowledge emerges as an indivisible thing. In its highest, ultimate form it is a reasonable love of God; a consciousness of the possession of eternal life, which is the gift of God through Christ, and which, if we make a loving and intelligent use of it, will grow into its full perfection in the presence of Him who at the beginning planted the germ of it in our hearts.'

VIII.—BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Father Pollock and his Brother. With a Letter from the Right Rev. CHARLES GORE, Bishop of Birmingham. (Longmans. 1911.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE author of this memoir, who does not reveal his name, quotes a letter from Dr. Gore, in which he says 'I have been struck with the many instances in which . . . individuals—mostly men—have told me of the change in their lives which these true evangelicals brought about, not so much by their words as by their self-sacrificing lives.' That was no doubt the secret of their success, but it makes it difficult to write their biography. Their biographer has wisely decided to be short. Even so, he seems to have been in some want of material, no doubt in consequence, to a large extent, of the time which has elapsed since their death. The first of the brothers died in 1895, the second in 1896. Perhaps the following incident will give as good an illustration as any of the nature of their lives and work:

'One bitterly cold night, when he was far from well, a call came from a remote part of his district. Late though it was, Father Pollock set off at once to the place, where he found a man very ill, and in a state of great destitution, there being neither food nor fire in the house. With no thought of his own fatigue or frail health, this devoted priest returned to his house, with his own hands filled a barrow with coal and wood, wheeled it himself to the miserable abode, kindled a fire and remained with the sick man all night. This incident was related in a Dissenting pulpit the evening of the Sunday on which Father Pollock was called to his rest; and the preacher concluded his narrative with the question "Which of us would have done that?"'

Forty Years of Friendship. As recorded in the Correspondence of John Duke, Lord Coleridge, and Ellis Yarnall, 1856 to 1895. Edited by C. YARNALL. With portraits. (Macmillan. 1912.) 8s. 6d. net.

FOR many years Mr. Yarnall was the American correspondent of *The Guardian*. He brought to his duties in that position an ardent love of everything English in combination with a hearty patriotism, and, although full of literary interests, he was none the less a man of action. The life and letters of a man of that kind are not only interesting in themselves, but are a real factor in the community of interest between two great English-speaking nations. Mr. Yarnall's letters contain comments on most of the important events and on the actions of many of the public men, both in England and in America, during the years covered by the letters. The part which Lord Coleridge took in the correspondence will necessarily be less fresh to our readers, because his literary, religious, and political opinions are already well known. But it is interesting to read many of his criticisms on the affairs and the men of the day, expressed in the frankness of such a long and friendly intercourse. Perhaps the most striking passage in the letters is on Newman, of whom Lord Coleridge says:

'To me he remains on the whole far the greatest man I ever knew, and I have known Wordsworth and Mr. Gladstone. I never knew anyone approach him, and be with him for any time, without receiving a unique impression of a great aloof, and yet most human soul and mind. Lord Blachford, Professor Shairp, Tom Mozley, Keble, men as different as possible, yet all able men, all had this same impression, and Tom Mozley, the hardest and most worldly of them all, says you could never be in Newman's presence for a quarter of an hour without being distinctly invited to take a moral step onward.'

The book is illustrated by one portrait of Mr. Yarnall, and by four of Lord Coleridge.

The Life of Bishop Ernest Roland Wilberforce, first Bishop of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and afterward Bishop of Chichester. By J. B. ATLAY, M.A., F.S.A. (Smith, Elder and Co. 1912.) 10s. 6d. net.

COMPLAINTS as to the length of biographies are so frequent that it is of little avail to add another to them. And yet it is hard to

see what justification can be urged for a memoir on the scale of this book for Bishop Ernest Wilberforce. He was a man evidently who made quite a good bishop, and yet who owed his elevation, in all probability, more to his father's name than to his own merits. It would certainly have considerably surprised the boisterous youth, who prevented the photographing of a college group by a well-aimed lump of coal, if he had been told that he would be immortalized by an ecclesiastical biographer to the tune of 360 pages, in a volume about double the size of that allowed to his contemporary, Bishop King of Lincoln.

There is, in fact, very little of permanent importance to tell about the Bishop. His chief claim to distinction is that he was the first Bishop of Newcastle, and it is interesting to learn that 10,000*l.* of the fund for the endowment of the bishopric was given by the Duke of Northumberland, a member of the 'Irvingite Church,' while the episcopal residence, valued at 12,000*l.*, was given by a Quaker.

It is to be feared that his essentially individualistic standpoint made it difficult for him to rule a diocese in which extremes met, and there is little doubt that his end was hastened by troubles connected with ceremonial. Bishop Ernest Wilberforce was essentially an Englishman, and though that is a name which guarantees a considerable governing capacity in secular affairs, it may be doubted whether the English temperament is as well fitted to deal with problems arising out of the mind and spirit. However, the Bishop did his best, but his best was, perhaps, hardly worth recording on so large a scale.

Recollections of a Sussex Parson. By the late Rev. EDWARD BOYS ELLMAN. (Skeffington. 1912.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE writer of this book was born three months after Waterloo and died in 1906. After obtaining a First Class in Mathematics at Oxford he refused tutorial work and settled at Berwick in Sussex in 1838 as curate-in-charge with 40*l.* a year and a furnished rectory, free of rates and taxes, though the non-resident Rector made several efforts to induce him to pay the rates. There he remained living on that income till 1844, and thither he returned in 1846, after two years as Vicar of Wartling, as Rector himself for sixty years. He had known many people worth knowing of whom the world has heard and very many others of whom it has not. He began to write down what he remembered in

1889 and continued to do so almost to the year of his death, and the result has been edited by the piety of his daughter, who contributes a short memoir. Mr. Ellman's work makes, it must be confessed, small pretension to literary artifice or grace of style, and there is at least one passage (pp. 46-7) which affords a fine field for conjectural emendation of a dislocated and corrupt text; but the impression which the book leaves of country life, secular and ecclesiastical, in Sussex during a period of nearly a century is so vivid and in many particulars so curious that the discursiveness and lack of connexion seem somehow to be forgotten. And few will read it without respect and even affection for the writer.

The Choice: A Dialogue treating of Mute Inglorious Art. By ROBERT DOUGLAS. (Macmillan. 1911.) 3s. 6d.

IF Mr. Douglas' dialogue is read as widely as it deserves to be, it will speedily reach a second edition. The book is a valiant attack upon that fundamentally Philistine opinion—which perhaps dominates the minds of more of us than would avow it—that no one is justified in devoting his life to the study of literature, philosophy, or art, unless he can make sure of pursuing this study with consummate success. Would there be room 'in the economy of the model state' for the mediocre artist, the mediocre philosopher, the mediocre man of letters? The question is discussed in the form of a conversation between the author and a friend who has renounced safe chances of promotion in a Government office in order to play a modest part in the work of 'unveiling the spirit of beauty which hovers everywhere about us, lost and unheeded amid the dust and turmoil of existence, yet eager to be revealed to seeing eyes.' The leading character is occasionally flowery in his language; yet he succeeds, nevertheless, in stating his case with force and eloquence. We may indeed put some of his lessons into practice without waiting till the time comes when we are citizens in a 'model state.' If every clergyman and landowner could be made to share Mr. Douglas' views as to the value of beauty and knowledge, institutions on the model of the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield might grow up in every village. The difficulty is that the prevalence of that very spirit of Philistinism against which Mr. Douglas protests will probably prevent the majority of us from laying his lessons to heart.

Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic. Translated from the Italian of BENEDETTO CROCE by DOUGLAS AINSLIE. (Macmillan and Co. 1911.) 10s. net.

MR. AINSLIE claims to have discovered a new Columbus—the Neapolitan philosopher Benedetto Croce, whose name many heard for the first time in Mr. Balfour's 'Romanes Lecture,' and whose thought has important affinities with Bergson's.

The book which Mr. Ainslie has translated is the first of three volumes which bear the general name of 'The Philosophy of Spirit.' It commences by dividing human knowledge into two kinds—the intuitive and the logical. The first is primary and is said to be obtained through the imagination: the other is obtained through the intellect. The function of intuitive knowledge is to *characterize*: on the crude matter of experience it is operative as *form*. It is, therefore, a spiritual factor in the constitution of our every-day world. Moreover, that factor is an active one. We have intuitions by forming and expressing them. Indeed, we are told that to have an intuition is 'nothing else (nothing more, but nothing less) than to *express*.'

Aesthetic thus becomes a theory of expression, but the scope of it is not limited by the Fine Arts. It extends to *all* expression. Thus, language is a form of human expression, and we are told in plain terms that 'the philosophy of Language and the philosophy of Aesthetic are the same thing.'

It follows from these thoughts that in artistic production the artistic element—'the aesthetic fact'—is wholly in *form*. The context or subject of the form—for instance, the moral character of the presentation mind we treat artistically—lies quite outside 'the aesthetic fact.' All practical and moral aims are excluded from Aesthetic. This, we are told, gives to art a 'practical innocence.' Beauty is 'successful expression'—the successful expression of our intuitive apprehension. Art has no other criterion than this. It follows that Beauty is truly a constituent in *our* world—in the world which we intuitively possess—but only because we put it there! 'It does not belong to things, but to the activity of man, to spiritual life.'

This book may fairly stand for a philosophy of Post-Impressionism. It is very interesting, and not merely because of its real or apparent aberrations. There are important tendencies and movements in the modern world which cannot be thoroughly understood unless this provocative doctrine be mastered. Probably the fundamental weakness of the book is in its failure to

make *intuition* primarily and plainly *apprehension*. We are told that 'in our intuitions we do not oppose ourselves to external reality as empirical beings, but we simply objectify our impressions, whatever they be.' This criticism shews the important connexion between these aesthetic discussions and the philosophy of faith.

The latter part of the book contains a useful and illuminating summary of the history of Aesthetic.

Significs and Language: the Articulate Form of our Expressive and Interpretative Resources. By V. WELBY. (Macmillan. 1911.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS little book by the late Lady Welby consists of somewhat detached but frequently suggestive thoughts on the inadequacy of language. The chief cause of the defect of language is the tendency of expressions originally metaphorical to become stereotyped and out of touch with the modern view of the world. The remedy suggested is a strenuous attempt to restore the plasticity of language by the use of living images more in harmony with scientific knowledge. This interesting thesis is not expounded without some exaggeration. We cannot concur in the condemnation, for example, of Mr. William Watson for writing of 'foundations in the world's heart.' We think the author has not sufficiently reflected that man in his saner moments is happily far more a poet than a scientific intellect.

World Literature and its Place in General Culture. By R. G. MOULTON, M.A. (Camb.), Ph.D. (Penna.), Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. (The Macmillan Co. 1911.) 7s. 6d. net.

A PROFESSOR of Literary Theory and Interpretation in an American University and 'University Extension Lecturer in Literature (England and America)' could do no less than take World Literature for his province. The book before us opens with a contention that there is such a thing as a unity of literature and that that unity can be traced. By 'World Literature' Dr. Moulton means not 'Universal Literature'—the sum total of all literatures—but Universal Literature *seen in perspective from a given point of view*, presumably the national standpoint of the observer. Thus he concedes that World Literature may be

different (a) for people of different nationalities, (b) for different individuals of the same nation ; but in each case it is, he contends, a real unity, and a unity which is a reflexion of the unity of all literature, with the very necessary proviso that the observation of the whole field must be correct—that there must be a sound philosophy at the basis of this perspective grouping. Of course if the unity is to be grasped at all, the reader must necessarily be content to make acquaintance with large fields of literature through the medium of translations, and many people will agree that it is better to gain the knowledge even with such deductions as are inevitable in the best of renderings than, perforce, to forgo it altogether. Most of us also will agree as to the need of a sound philosophy and that it is the lack of it which vitiates most collections of 'The Best Books.' To attain it, we are told, we must call in two supplementary principles, the National Literary Pedigree and Intrinsic Literary Interest. But here, we think, the Professor's real difficulties begin, for he starts from 'the position that our English civilization is the product of two main factors, the gradual union of which has made us what we are—the "Hellenic" and the "Hebraic" '; but it is almost immediately necessary to explain that a third factor has to be recognized—'not distinct ancestral literatures, but a complex of many forces working together.' For this factor Dr. Moulton adopts the expression 'Mediaevalism and Romance'—'Mediaevalism to describe the historic conditions ; Romance the literary aspect of the result.' We will not pause to dwell upon his conception of mediaevalism, though in several points it invites criticism, but on coming to Romance we find that 'its real source is the constitution of the Middle Ages as a whole. The Middle Ages constitute a vast gathering ground of poetic material for fusion and intermingling.' Dr. Moulton asks 'Of what nature were the poetic materials brought together ?' and he answers :

'In the first place . . . the original folklore of the races thus intermingling: English folklore and German ; Celtic lore, with the delicate fairy tracery of Irish imagination ; Norse heroic saga . . . all the accumulations of Oriental nations, brought into Europe by the Arabs . . . what remained of Hellenic story, especially Greek novels, and the story wealth of the Bible, with traditions of miracle and martyrdom that had gathered round it. But in addition to all this there are special poetic motives generated by mediaeval life itself. Of these, the most prominent is Chivalry.'

And so on, with the addition of Allegory, Mysticism, and 'the special interest of Magic.'

It is all very interesting, and except for an occasional roughness like 'to off set' admirably expounded; but somehow the clear-cut classification with which we started seems to have become much involved, and our faith in Dr. Moulton's guidance into the philosophy of literature is a little shaken: in history we trust that its reliability is not to be gauged by the reference which immediately follows to 'that Germanic instinct which in religion added Mariolatry to biblical Christianity.'

In turning to consider 'World Literature from the English Point of View,' with such aids to a proper perspective as we may have been enabled to gain from what precedes, we find ourselves confronted with 'Five Literary Bibles,' which 'will in themselves make a nucleus of World Literature.' These are (i) The Holy Bible, (ii) Classical Epic and Tragedy, (iii) Shakespeare, (iv) Dante and Milton—the Epics of Mediaeval Catholicism and Renaissance Protestantism, (v) Versions of the Story of Faust. From the first we are supposed to get the Hebraic factor in its completeness; from the second a less complete representation of Hellenism.

'The other three bibles belong to stages where the third factor of Romance has come into play. Shakespeare represents romantic material touched by Hellenic influence; in Milton's work we have a perfect balancing of the Hellenic and Hebraic; Dante gives us mediaevalism in its wholeness. The fifth . . . presents what is a mediaeval germ undergoing successive modifications under influences which have extended from the establishment of romance to the present time.'

There is much that is illuminating and instructive in Dr. Moulton's presentation of the characteristic features of each of these, but we cannot help feeling that throughout there runs the vice of an unscientific classification, convenient possibly for lecture-purposes, but misleading when it is taken for anything more than it really is. The writer recognizes, of course, the necessity of taking account of 'Collateral Studies in World Literature,' if a 'map of World Literature on the English projection' is to be accurate. Hence we have studies of the Koran, the Arabian Nights, Omar Khayyam, Ossian, the Norse Epic of Sigurd, and the Kalevala—a curious jumble of material which it is difficult to bring into more than a fictitious relation with the scheme adopted.

After this follow studies of 'Comparative Reading,' 'Literary Organs of Personality: Essays and Lyrics,' 'Strategic Points in Literature,' 'World Literature the Autobiography of Civilization,' and 'The Place of World Literature in Education.' The

'Strategic Points' are (i) Plato and Lucretius, (ii) Aristophanes, (iii) *The Romance of the Rose*, *Reynard the Fox*, and *Everyman*, (iv) Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, (v) Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, (vi) Froissart's *Chronicles* and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, (vii) Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* and Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, (viii) Molière and Racine, (ix) Sir Walter Scott and Sienkiewicz, (x) Rabelais, (xi) Balzac and Victor Hugo, (xii) Byron and Wordsworth. As to this list Dr. Moulton disarms criticism by premising that he fully understands 'that it will satisfy nobody but myself, while to myself it is only approximately satisfactory.' In connexion with the final essay on the Place of World Literature in Education we may specially call attention to the section on 'The University Extension Ideal,' and the writer's contention that 'for general culture the point to emphasize is, not concentration in a few years, but extension to the leisure time of a whole life.' The volume ends with a list of books which omits Herodotus and includes Dr. Bickersteth's *Yesterday, To-day, and Forever*; includes Sir Thomas Overbury but not Schiller; for 'Celtic Literature' enjoins 'see under Arnold, Matthew'; includes the *Proverbial Philosophy* of Martin Tupper, which is 'biblical wisdom, diluted and become rhapsodic,' and omits Carlyle. We could wish for Carlyle's comments on 'a map of World Literature on the English projection,' which treats History as Dr. Moulton has ventured to treat it.

In Patria. An Exposition of Dante's *Paradiso*. By the Rev. JOHN S. CARROLL, M.A., D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 10s. 6d. net.

THE *Paradiso* of Dante, as the poet himself has warned his readers, is a difficult book. It can hardly, indeed, be read without the help of a guide both to its literary obscurities, and to the scientific, scholastic, and theological doctrines that it contains. Dr. Carroll in the volume before us, which he has named 'In Patria'—after expressions used by St. Bonaventura and St. Thomas Aquinas—offers himself as our latest interpreter of the mysteries of this third portion of the *Divina Commedia*, completing therewith his commentary on the whole poem. And it is, it may be said at once, learned, conscientious, and in some respects exhaustive.

Dr. Carroll, of course, is at a disadvantage in having had so many predecessors, and especially in having been anticipated

for English readers by Mr. Gardner's valuable work, Dante's *Ten Heavens*. Yet, while availing himself of previous commentaries, he takes his own line, and his work is perfectly independent. Bringing an ample store of erudition to his task, he deals with the *Paradiso* primarily in its moral and theological aspect, and to this he makes everything else subservient. Yet he shirks nothing. He faces textual difficulties (p. 341), and discusses geographical and astronomical problems, though these are to him but 'a starry veil' to the moral and spiritual significance of the poem (pp. 362 ff.). So intent, indeed, is he on the theological aspect of the poem that his treatise may fairly be regarded as an exposition of Dante's theological views by the light of the early divines, above all of St. Thomas Aquinas.

It is not possible to refer to more than one or two examples of Dr. Carroll's method. In his exposition of Canto xix, in which Dante questions the Eagle as to the working of the Divine Justice in its condemnation of the virtuous heathen, it is shewn that the reply put into the mouth of the Eagle, laying it down that man must not presume to doubt the goodness of God, is based on the teaching of Aquinas, and that in insisting on the necessity of the faith required for its acceptance Dante is but following his master in theology. So, too, the strong distinction drawn by Dante between the Active and the Contemplative Life is proved to be a deduction from Aquinas, while St. Thomas' own system is based on 'the Aristotelian disruption of human nature into a natural and a supernatural element' (pp. 323 ff.). In connexion with this subject Dr. Carroll's argument for the substitution of St. Bernard for Beatrice as Dante's guide in the Tenth Heaven deserves to be noticed. It is, he holds, chiefly because Bernard combined in himself so remarkably the life of Contemplation with the life of Action. His protests against their separation, he tells us, were frequent; their union constitutes the highest bliss of Paradise; it is as representing that union that he is chosen to unfold to the poet the final glory of the Empyrean.

Closely connected with his theological interpretation of the *Paradiso* is Dr. Carroll's desire to explain its symbolism. At every step he is anxious to discover behind the outward form the inner meaning of the poem. In doing this, he is, of course, going over much well-trodden ground, for symbolism is of the very essence of the *Paradiso*, and every student has to learn to look for the inner significance of Dante's heavenly pageantry.

Dr. Carroll gives us much true interpretation, but in his endeavour to be complete he goes too far. The very slightest incident and every turn of a phrase must, with him, certainly have some symbolic meaning. He is, indeed, aware that he is likely to be charged with over-subtlety. Thus, for instance, he is not satisfied with Dante's comparison of the twenty-four theologians in the Heaven of the Sun to twenty-four selected stars, probably chosen by the poet simply for their brightness, but asserts that 'it is really difficult to believe that this complicated arrangement means nothing.' He proceeds, accordingly, to suggest two interpretations, which may be ingenious but are very far from convincing (p. 218, n. 1). So again, when the spirits in the Heaven of Jupiter are forming the letters of the phrase 'Diligite justitiam, qui judicatis terram,' Dr. Carroll will not have it that the pause after each letter is simply in order to give Dante time to read it, but rather 'means that one letter—one fragmentary form of just government—comes into existence, has its day, and passes on into another form, a new letter, thus spelling out through the slow ages the complete righteousness of God,' surely an over-elaborate deduction. The frequent occurrence of such fine-drawn interpretations tends rather to confusion than to illumination, and deprives the reader of much of the confidence he would otherwise feel in the writer's guidance.

We may, however, gratefully acknowledge the help which Dr. Carroll gives us in other ways. His illustrations and explanations of minor matters are often admirable. Nothing could be better, for instance, than his remarks on Justinian's reference to Belisarius (p. 109), his account of Folco of Marseilles after he had become the persecuting Bishop of Toulouse (pp. 151 ff.), his concise and lucid explanation of Dante's conversion into a party by himself (pp. 269 ff.), and his interpretation of the strange simile by which Dante illustrates the movements of Adam within his robe of light (p. 420 f.). Such explanations are frequent throughout the book, and add greatly to its value.

In conclusion, we may note that the author opposes an old tradition in reasserting his belief that the shade in the *Inferno* 'Che fece per viltà il gran rifiuto' was not Pope Celestine the Fifth, but Pilate (p. 120, n. 1); and helps to perpetuate an old mistake in making 'il gran barone' of Canto xvi an impossible Margrave of *Brandenburg*. The personage in question was the Marquis Hugh of Tuscany, the grandson of an Italian king and the greatest potentate in Italy after the Emperor. He deserves remembrance not only as the first ruler of Tuscany who made

Florence his usual residence, but as a great noble who was at once loyal to his sovereign and compassionate to the poor. It is even possible that a legend respecting him supplied Dante with material for the *Inferno*.¹

At this time of day further additions to Dante literature are not necessarily welcome, but Dr. Carroll's work has a value of its own, which should give it an honourable place among commentaries on the *Divina Commedia*.

PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. XIII. No. 52. July 1912. Frowde). H. Kelly: 'The Meaning of Mysticism.' A. Spagnolo and C. H. Turner: (1) 'A Fragment of an unknown Latin Version of the Apostolic Constitutions (Book VIII. 41-end).' From a MS. in the Chapter Library of Verona; (2) 'Latin Lists of the Canonical Books. IV. An Early Version of the Eighty-fifth Apostolic Canon.' From MS. Veron. LI. A. Souter: 'Freiburg Fragments of a MS. of the Pelagian Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul.' (Fragment used for many years as the cover of a professor's 'Gesellschaft zum Gaucht'!). J. W. Bright and R. L. Ramsay: 'Notes on the "Introductions" of the West-Saxon Psalms.' J. Wickham Legg: 'Notes on Collects.' H. S. Cronin: 'An Examination of some Omissions of the Codex Sinaiticus in St. John's Gospel.' P. Guébin: 'Deux Sermons inédits de Baldwin, Archevêque de Canterbury, 1184-1190.' In MS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 2601. V. Ammundsen: 'The Rule of Truth in Irenaeus.' Dom R. H. Connolly: 'The Book of Life.' F. C. Burkitt: '"Woman, what have I to do with thee?"', E. Nestle: 'Scotus Erigena on Greek MSS. of the Fourth Gospel.' H. S. Jones: 'Recent Discoveries in the Catacomb of S. Callistus.' F. C. Burkitt: 'P. Gardner *Religious Experience of St. Paul*'; 'Schweitzer *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*'; 'Lake *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, their motive and origin*.' H. F. Stewart: 'W. Lock (and others) *Miracles*'; 'Wendland *Miracles and Christianity*.' A. E. Burn: 'Curtis *History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith*.' H. G. Wood: 'McGlothlin *Baptist Confessions of Faith*.' E. C. Quiggin: 'MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*.' J. A. MacCulloch: 'Bouvier *Animisme, Préanimisme, Religion*'; 'Valensin *Jésus-Christ et l'Étude comparée des Religions*.' S. Gaselee: 'Dudley *Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul*'; 'Peebles *The Legend of Longinus . . . and its Connection with the Grail*.' B. J. Kidd: 'Cambridge *Mediaeval History*, I.' H. L. Jackson: 'E. F. Scott *The Kingdom and the Messiah*'; 'Emmet *The Eschatological Question in the Gospels*.' J. F. Bethune-Baker: 'Dewick *Primitive Christian Eschatology*.' G. H. Clayton: 'Piepenbring *Jésus et les Apôtres*.'

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. X. No. 4. July 1912. Williams and Norgate). M. Nordau: 'The Degeneration of Classes and Peoples.' C. G. Montefiore: 'The Significance of Jesus for His own Age.' R. K. Davis: 'Christ as "The Truth."' Right Rev. J. E. Mercier (Bishop of Tasmania): 'The Church, the World, and the Kingdom.' A. W. F.

¹ See Davidson's *Geschichte von Florenz*, i. 106, III ff.

Blunt: 'The Ungodly Organisation of Society.' E. W. Lummis: 'Conformity and Veracity, 1662 and 1912.' M. M. P. Muir: 'The Vain Appeal of Dogma to Science.' P. E. B. Jourdain: 'Logic, M. Bergson and Mr. H. G. Wells.' E. F. Carritt: 'The Artistic Attitude in Conduct.' G. E. French: 'The Interpretation of Prophecy.' A. A. Bowman: 'The Sistine Madonna.' B. A. G. Fuller: 'The Gods of Epicurus. A Plea for their Serious Consideration.' E. Mahler: 'Social Service. No. 4. The Hardships of Seamen's Wives.' G. Dawes Hicks: 'Recent Philosophical Literature.' J. Moffatt: 'Recent Theological Literature.' G. Dawes Hicks: 'Ward The Realm of Ends.' H. Jones: 'Bosanquet *The Principle of Individuality and Value*.' J. W. Scott: 'Hegel *Phenomenology of Mind* [E.T.].' W. Brown: 'M'Dougall *Body and Mind: a History and Defence of Animism*.' A. Wolf: 'Barbour *A Philosophical Study of Christian Ethics*.' F. Granger: 'Harnack *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben*.' E. W. Lummis: 'Loisy *L'Évangile selon Marc*.' G. G. Coulton: 'Gairdner, Lollardy and the Reformation, III.' M. L. V. Hughes: 'Blundell Idealism, Possible and Impossible.'

The Irish Church Quarterly (Vol. V. No. 19. July 1912. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis). Right Rev. J. H. Bernard (Bishop of Ossory): 'The Discontent of Jonathan Swift.' J. H. Kennedy: 'Pragmatism.' C. H. P. Price: 'The Old Catholic Movement, its Position and Prospects.' W. S. Kerr: 'The Origin of the Episcopate.' W. H. T. Gahan: 'The Eschatology of St. Paul.' B. H. T. Gahan: 'A Fundamental Fallacy in the Method of Higher Criticism.' (In answer to the Dean of St. Patrick's.) 'Hitchcock *The Atonement and Modern Thought*.' 'Digges La Touche *The Person of Christ in Modern Thought*.' 'R. A. P. Rogers *Short History of Ethics*.' 'W. P. Robertson *Immortality and Life Eternal*.' 'Leslie Armagh Clergy and Parishes.' 'P. Gardner *Religious Experience of St. Paul*.' 'Furneaux Acts.' E. J. Y[oung]: 'Plummer *The Churches in Britain before A.D. 1000*, II'; 'J. S. Hay *The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus*.' 'Burn *The Athanasian Creed*.' 'J. I. Munro *The Samaritan Pentateuch and Modern Criticism*.' 'S. McBee *An Eirenic Itinerary*.'

The Dublin Review (Vol. CLI. No. 302. July 1912. Burns and Oates). W. Barry: 'The Centenary of William George Ward (March 21, 1812-July 6, 1882).' J. Ayscough: 'The Entail. An Appreciation.' B. Comtesse de Courson: 'The Story of the Abbé de Salamon during the Reign of Terror.' T. J. Gerrard: 'The Futurists.' W. Ward: 'Leo XIII and Anglican Orders.' A. P. Graves: 'The Preternatural in Early Irish Poetry.' S. Harding: 'Some Recent Strikes.' C. A. Harris: 'Music and Literature. The Work of Robert Schumann.' L. de Lantsheere: 'The Belgian Elections of 1912.' (By a former Minister of Justice). D. G. McC[hesney]: 'Burghclere *The First Duke of Ormonde*.' 'G. B. Gray *Isaiah, I*.' 'McCabe *Goethe: the Man and his Character*' ('fills a want long felt'). J. S. P[hillimore]: 'Mackail *Lectures on Poetry*' (critical). B. C. A. W[indle]: 'Willey *Convergence in Evolution*.' 'Knipe *Evolution in the Past*.' 'Sparrow Simpson *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions*.' Dom J. Chapman: 'Chronicle of Recent N. T. Works.'

The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. VII. No. 27. July 1912. Dublin: M. H. Gill). M. A. Power, S.J.: 'Who were they who "understood not"?' (Lc. ii. 49, 50.) J. Kelleher: 'The Genesis of Present Industrial Conditions.' E. J. Cullen: 'The Validation of Marriage.' J. Ghellinck: 'Theological Literature during the Investiture Struggle.' J. M. Harty: 'Fortescue *The Mass*.' 'T. Slater, S. J., *Cases of Conscience*, II' (Discusses *inter alia* the permissibility of Absolution in emergency by telephone); 'Micheletti *De Pastore Animarum*' (laudatory). J. MacCaffrey: 'Ward *Cardinal Newman*' (disappointing); 'A. S. Green *The Old Irish World*.' 'Concilium Tridentinum, II, V. Edidit

Societas Goerresiana' (3l. 10s. a volume); 'Beissel Geschichte der Verehrung Marias im 16 u. 17 Jahrhundert.' M. J. O'Donnell: 'Huby Christus.' J. MacRory: 'Maturin The Price of Unity.'

The Interpreter (Vol. VIII. No. 4. July 1912. Simpkin, Marshall). W. Emery Barnes: 'The Religion of St. Bernard.' G. A. Cooke: 'Was Deuteronomy written in Cuneiform?' R. H. Kennett: 'The Development of the Apocalyptic style in the O.T.' A. W. F. Blunt: 'The Way of the Cross.' E. G. King: 'The Covenant of Creation in the Psalms.' A. Dakin: 'St. Paul's Success at Athens.' B. K. Rattey: 'Samuel and the Monarchy.' 'R. Allen Missionary Methods. St. Paul's or Ours?' 'Noel Byways of Belief.' H. Johnson: 'DuBose The Reason of Life'; 'Princeton Biblical and Theological Studies'; 'Facing the Facts; or, An Englishman's Religion.'

The London Quarterly Review (N.S. No. 238. July 1912. C. H. Kelly). J. Rendel Harris: 'A New St. Teresa.' († 1897). A. E. Garvie: 'One World, One Gospel, and One Church.' G. Jackson: 'Dean Church. An Appreciation.' E. E. Kellett: 'The Translation of the N.T.' W. H. A. Aubrey: 'Puritanism. Its Merits and Mistakes.' D. M. Jones: 'English Writers and the Making of Italy.' R. N. Flew: 'The Apocalypse. A Study of Methods.' Notes and Discussions. J. Telford: 'Black and Chrystal Life of W. Robertson Smith'; 'Sabatier The Religious Orientation of France.' A. Brown: 'The Psychology of St. Paul.' 'Voluntas Dei.' 'E. C. Selwyn The Oracles in the N.T.' 'E. C. Dewick Primitive Christian Theology' (favourable). 'Ballard Why does God not intervene?' 'Batiffol Credibility of the Gospel [E.T.]' (laudatory). '(The late) H. Williams Christianity in Early Britain.' 'A. S. Way The Lay of the Niblung Men.' 'Grane The Passing of War.'

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XVI. No. 3. July 1912. Chicago University Press). J. Warschauer: 'The Present Position of Liberal Theology in Great Britain. A Study of Tendencies.' J. W. Thompson: 'The Alleged Persecution of the Christians at Lyons in 177.' W. K. Wright: 'A Psychological Definition of Religion.' H. R. Mackintosh: 'The Liberal Conception of Jesus in its Strength and Weakness.' T. G. Soares: 'Practical Theology and Ministerial Efficiency.' S. Mathews: 'In Memoriam. William Newton Clarke. George William Knox.' J. Morgenstern: 'M. Jastrow, jr., Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria.' J. H. Breasted: 'Farnell Greece and Babylon.' D. D. Luckenbill: 'Gressman Das Gilgamesch-Epos.' J. M. P. Smith: 'König Geschichte des A. T. Religion'; 'Stade Biblische Theologie des A.T., II.' C. R. Bowen: 'S. J. Case The Historicity of Jesus'; 'Batiffol The Credibility of the Gospel.' S. J. Case: 'Studies in the Fourth Gospel' and 'Recent Opinions on N.T. Chronology.' G. H. Gilbert: 'C. R. Bowen The Resurrection in the N.T.' A. Hörmann: 'Scheel Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung (bis 1519).' J. H. Tufts: 'Ward Realm of Ends.' A. C. L. Brown: 'MacCulloch Religion of the Ancient Celts.' 'Wade Isaiah.' 'E. Meyer Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine.' 'Jacquier Le N.T. dans l'Église Chrétienne.' 'Piepenbring Jésus et les Apôtres.' 'Curtis Creeds and Confessions of Faith.'

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. X. No. 3. July 1912. Princeton University Press). W. B. Greene, jr.: 'The Church and the Social Question.' L. F. Benson: 'Dr. Watts' "Renovation of Psalmody."' J. R. Smith: 'The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.' B. B. Warfield: 'Princeton Theological Studies'; 'Hastings Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, IV (6 pp.)'; 'Holdsworth The Christ of the Gospels' (7 pp. critical); 'Doumergue Jean Calvin, IV.' (6½ pp.); 'J. Estlin Carpenter The Historical Jesus and the Theological Christ.' W. B. Greene, jr.: 'Stone and Simpson Communion with God'; 'Batten The Social Task of Christianity.' (4 pp.) G. Vos: 'Clemen Der Geschicht-

liche Jesus. C. R. Morey: 'Dölger Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit' (11 pp. important). C. W. Hodge: 'R. F. Horton How the Cross saves' (very critical). G. Johnson: 'Arnal La Personne humaine dans les Évangiles.'

The Review and Expositor (Vol. IX. No. 3. July 1912. Louisville, Ky., and 4 Southampton Row, London, W.C.). J. Palmer: 'The Contemporaneous Origin of the Gospels, II.' S. Z. Batten: 'The Priesthood of all Believers.' R. Knight: 'Ultimate Authority in Moral Truth.' H. W. Provenance: 'The Challenge of the New China.' J. C. Hiden: 'John Stuart Mill on "Nature."' A. R. Abernathy: 'Jesus, the Prince of the World.' C. S. Gardner: 'Vedder Socialism and the Ethics of Jesus.' W. O. Carver: 'Henson The Road to Unity' (unkind); 'H. S. Holland and others Miracles' (laudatory); W. J. McGlothlin: 'Bost Les Prédicants Protestants des Cévennes et du Bas-Languedoc (1684-1700).'

The Australian Church Quarterly Review (Vol. II. Nos. 2-3. March-June 1912. (Sydney: 487 George Street). J. S. Hart: 'The Self-Consciousness of our Lord.' H. N. Drummond: 'Line upon Line.' M. W. Butterfield: 'The Education and Training of Candidates for the Sacred Ministry.' J. R. Young: 'The Australasian Student Christian Union. The Daylesford Conference.' C. W. Carrington: 'The Working of the Union in General.' H. K. Archdall: 'The Student Movement and the Christian Church.' A. J. H. Priest: 'Missionary Organization in Australia.' L. B. Radford: 'Ps. lxxxiv. A Study in Biblical Interpretation.' 'Coombe Islands of Enchantment' (Melanesia). Bishop of Carpentaria: 'Stoddart The New Socialism. An Impartial Inquiry.' 'Adam Cardinal Elements of the Christian Faith.' June. Archbishop of Melbourne: 'The Australian Board of Missions.' Bishop of Carpentaria: 'Missions to the Heathen.' Right Rev. H. H. Montgomery: 'Societies and Boards of Missions' (Reprinted from *The East and the West*). Medicus: 'Notes on Faith Healing.' D. J. Davies: 'Some Historical Aspects of Puritanism.' Ven. A. T. Wirgman: 'The Relation of the Church of S. Africa to the Church of England.' 'Thompson Miracles in the N.T.' 'H. S. Holland and others Miracles' (an 'invaluable little book'). 'Edgill The Revelation of the Son of God.' 'Foakes Jackson and others The Parting of the Roads.' 'Quin Catholicism and the Modern Mind.' 'Lord Halifax Leo XIII and Anglican Orders.' 'C. H. Robinson A Devotional Psalter' (critical). L. B. R[adford] 'Inge The Church and the Age.'

The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 19-21. July-September 1912. Hodder and Stoughton). E. König: 'The Consummation of the O.T. in Jesus Christ, I (II. August.) Right Rev. J. H. Bernard (Bishop of Ossory): 'The Levitical Code and the Table of Kindred and Affinity.' P. T. Forsyth: 'Self-Denial and Self-Committal.' B. D. Eerdmans: 'The Hebrew Feasts in Leviticus xxiii.' J. Oman: 'Personality and Grace. VII. Jesus Christ' (August. VIII. 'Repentance.' Sept. IX. 'Justification'). H. A. A. Kennedy: 'St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. III. The Character and Influence of the Mystery-Religions.' (Sept. IV. 'St. Paul and the Terminology of the Mystery-Religions.'). Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day' (continued Aug.-Sept.) August. W. L. Walker: 'The Subconscious, the Super-conscious, and the Person of Christ.' F. W. Mozley: 'Two Words in Galatians.' ('Kategnōsmenos,' Dikaïousthai'). Sir A. R. Simpson: 'The Unconsumed People.' J. Stalker: 'Studies in Conversion. VII. Tholuck.' (Sept. VIII. 'Chalmers'). September. H. Erskine Hill: 'The Apocalyptic Element in our Lord's Teaching.' A. Carr: 'The Indwelling Trinity.' W. J. C. Pike: 'The Angels at the Empty Tomb. A Study in Synoptics.'

The Expository Times (Vol. XXIII. Nos. 10-12. July-September

1912. T. and T. Clark). P. Feine: 'Positive Theological Research in Germany,' I. (II. August). A. E. Garvie: 'The Doctrine of the Incarnation in the Creeds,' III. (IV. August. V. September). J. Agar Beet: 'The Writings of John. Important overlooked Evidence.' J. E. Roberts: 'The Raising of Lazarus.' J. A. MacCulloch: 'The Scottish Liturgy and the Prayer-Book.' F. R. Whittaker: 'The Fate of the Traitor.' E. Nestle: '"Those Holy Mountains"' (Ps. lxxxvii. 1). J. Hastings: 'Black and Chrystal Life of W. Robertson Smith.' 'Box The Ezra-Apocalypse.' 'Spargo and Arner Elements of Socialism.' August. E. Anderson Scott: 'The Dualistic Element in the Thinking of St. Paul,' I (II. Sept.). J. Hastings: 'Livingstone The Greek Genius and its Meaning to us'; 'Lord Hugh Cecil Conservatism'; 'Foakes Jackson Scripture Teaching in Secondary Schools.' J. Moffatt: 'Feine Theologie des N.T.' J. S. Banks: 'Lewis The Philocalia of Origen [E.T.].' 'Ball Correspondence of Swift, III.' 'Drews The Witnesses to the Historicity of Jesus.' J. Strahan: 'The Gospel of Hosea.' A. Henderson: 'Note on a Variant in the Text of John i. 13.' E. Nestle: '"Sirs, ye are Brethren."' September. R. M. Lithgow: 'The Minor Parables, the Metaphors and Similes of the Synoptic Gospels.' A. H. Sayce: 'Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology.' J. Hastings: 'J. E. Harrison Themis'; 'T. R. Glover The Nature and Purpose of a Christian Society.' 'Macalister The Excavation of Gezer.' 'Spencer and Gillen Across Australia.' 'John Hungerford Pollen.' J. Iverach: 'Bauer Handbuch zum N.T.' A. G. Hogg: 'Christ's Message to the Kingdom.' T. G. Pinches: 'Further Light upon Early Babylonian History.'

The Churchman (Vol. XXVI. Nos. 79-81. July-September 1912. R. Scott). G. J. Cowley-Brown: 'Bishop Charles Wordsworth and the Union of the Churches.' A. Henderson: 'Inspiration and Catholicity.' F. B. MacNutt: 'A Way in the Desert. The Tasks and Temptations of the Modern Ministry.' H. J. Warner: 'The Parables of the Lost.' J. Vaughan: 'John Greenleaf Whittier.' H. Ford: 'A Plea for Extemporaneous Preaching.' W. St. C. Tisdall: 'Religion and Theology.' W. H. Renshaw: 'Cohu Through Evolution to the Living God.' F. S. G. W[arman]: 'Buckley Introduction to the Synoptic Problem.' August. C. Courtenay: 'The Way of the Mystic. A Sketch.' C. S. Carter: 'The Relations between the English and Foreign Reformers.' W. E. Bloss: 'The Relation of Modern Evangelicals to the Catholic Party.' S. H. Clarke: 'Some Thoughts on the Church of India.' J. A. Wood: 'The Healing of the Man possessed with the Legion.' J. W. Dathan: 'The Recovery of Baptism.' P. R. Pierce: 'Religion and Education.' R. B. Girdlestone: 'Books Ancient and Modern.' W. H. Renshaw: 'Vassall-Phillips The Mustard-tree.' C. H. K. Boughton: 'Bowen The Resurrection in the N.T.' September. C. H. K. Boughton: 'The Function of the Creeds.' A. Henderson: 'Bishops and Presbyters in the Primitive Church.' F. G. Given-Wilson: 'The Function of Prophet and Priest in the Church of God.' C. Haldon: 'Missions and Contemporary Literature.' H. W. Clark: 'The Emersonian Period.' J. K. and D. R. Fotheringham: 'Astronomical Evidence for the Date of the Crucifixion.' 'Blunt Faith in the N.T.' G. G. Coulton: 'Ogle Canon Law in Medieval England' (6 pp. critical). M. L. Smith: 'Cumont Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans.' H. J. Bardsley: 'Herford Pharisaism, its Aim and Method.'

The English Church Review (Vol. III. Nos. 31-3. July-September 1912. Longmans). "Inner Temple": 'The Thompson Marriage Case.' H. E. Tudor: '"Nots" in the Athanasian Creed.' Brother Norman, S.D.C.: '"Going to Church."' W. J. Sparrow Simpson: (1) 'The Theory of Transmigration of Souls'; (2) 'The Critical Spirit.'

'Cardinal Newman and Papal Infallibility.' 'DuBose *The Reason of Life.*' 'C. C. J. Webb *Problems in the Relations of God and Man.*' 'H. Smith *The Creeds.*' 'Batiffol *Primitive Catholicism.*' 'A. W. Robinson *Spiritual Progress*' ('a delightful book'). 'Jastrow *Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria.*' 'Medley *The Church and the Empire* (1003-1304).' August. 'Notes and Criticisms on the Banister-Thompson Case.' Lord Halifax: 'The English Church, Past and Present.' R. W. Burnie: 'God and Caesar.' F. W. Puller: 'The Continuity of the Church of England Before and After its Reformation in the XVIIth Century, with some Account of its Present Condition' (*Continued* Sept.: Lectures at St. Petersburg). 'R. Allen *Missionary Methods. St. Paul's or Ours?*' September. W. J. Sparrow Simpson: (1) 'Non-communicating Attendance'; (2) 'The Subjective Spirit.' 'Robert Gregory, 1819-1911. *Autobiography.*' 'Ormanian *The Church of Armenia.*'

The Catholic World (Vol. XCV. Nos. 568-70. July-September 1912. New York: 120-122 West 60th Street). T. J. Gerrard: 'Modern Theories and Moral Disaster.' (Sept. 'Sanctity and Racial Betterment'). A. H. Johns: 'Woman's Work in Bible Study and Translation.' V. M. Crawford: 'The Catholic Social Guild.' C. B. Walker: 'Saying Prayers.' F. Page: 'A Neglected Great Poem. Patmore's "Tamerton Church Tower."' W. P. S.: 'The Problem of Universal Peace.' 'Maturin *The Price of Unity.*' 'Zimmerman *St. Teresa. The Interior Castle.*' (The late) L. Johnson: 'The Holy Court.' (Aug. 'In Memoriam the Very Rev. William Lockhart, O.C.' [written May 1892]. August. L. M. Philipps: 'Islam.' A. MacMahon: 'The Pardons of Brittany.' H. Hull: 'Glimpses of the All-Beautiful.' L. I. Guiney: 'Lovelace and Vaughan. A Speculation.' (Sept. 'Digby Dolben'). W. Elliott: 'Spiritual Reading.' F. B. Duffy: 'What do the Methodists intend to do?' 'Vassall-Phillips *The Mustard Tree.*' 'Puller *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister*' (accuses Fr. Puller of dilettante scholarship). 'Dudon *Lamennais et le Saint-Siège.*' 'Roussel *Primitive Buddhism.*' September. J. Ayscough: 'A Scamp's Probation' (Charles II). M. Turmann: 'The Social Apostolate in France.' C. St. John: 'San Gimignano and its Treasure.' J. F. Schofield: '"The Newman of Norway." Knud Krogh-Tønning.' J. A. Ryan: 'The Abuses of Private Landownership.' J. L. O'Brien: 'René Bazin.' 'Gigot *Christ's Teaching concerning Divorce in the N.T.*' 'R. H. Benson *The Friendship of Christ.*' 'A. J. Brown *The Chinese Revolution.*' 'Bojani *Innocent XI. Sa correspondance avec ses nonces* (1676-9).'

The Edinburgh Review (Vol. CCXVI. No. 441. July 1912. Longmans). 'India and her Sovereign.' J. O. P. Bland: 'The Causes of Chinese Unrest.' E. Gosse, C.B.: 'The Hôtel de Rambouillet.' H. Bleackley: 'Fox.' F. Gribble: 'The Rousseau Bicentenary.' R. Newmarch: 'Chauvinism in Music.' A. E. Shipley: 'Zoology in the Time of Shakespeare.' 'On Safety of Life at Sea.' S. Nihal Singh: 'The Changing Status of Oriental Women.' 'The New Renaissance in France.' A. Fawkes: 'A Famous Heresy Trial' (of Robertson Smith).

The Quarterly Review (No. 432. July 1912. John Murray). A. Fawkes: 'The Ideas of Mrs. Humphry Ward.' G. Calderon: 'The Russian Stage.' A. F. Tredgold: 'The Study of Eugenics.' H. James: 'The Novel in "The Ring and the Book."' W. Landells: 'The London Stock Exchange.' M. Robinson (Mme. Duclaux): 'Maurice Barrès.' W. G. Waters: 'French Renaissance Architecture.' S. Reynolds: 'Joseph Conrad and Sea Fiction.' 'Excommunication' (on the Banister-Thompson Case. Important). 'The New Pacifism.' M. O'Gorman: 'Airships and Aeroplanes' (Illustrated). G. F. Abbott: 'The Tripolitan War' (with Maps).

The English Historical Review (Vol. XXVII. No. 107. July 1912. Longmans). C. H. Haskins: 'Normandy under Geoffrey Plantagenet.' H. Pirie-Gordon: 'The Reigning Princes of Galilee.' C. L. Kingsford: 'The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle.' J. F. Chance: 'Northern Affairs in 1724.' F. M. Stenton: 'The Danes at Thorney Island in 824.' Hon. F. H. Baring: 'The Making of the New Forest.' R. L. Poole: 'Henry Symeonis.' (Down to 1827 every Oxford man before admission to B.A. degree had to swear that he would not lecture or attend lectures at Stamford nor consent to the reconciliation of Henry Symeonis, whose alleged homicide was a cause of the secession of the University to Northampton). A. Clark: 'Copyhold Tenure at Felsted, Essex.' W. A. B. Coolidge: 'The Names of Zermatt' (Praborgne, Matt, Matten, Zermatt). C. L. Bullock: 'Chen Huan-chang *The Economic Principles of Confucius and his School*.' H. J. Cunningham: 'Zimmern *The Greek Commonwealth*.' H. S. Jones: 'Hay *The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus*' (critical). A. Cowley: 'Krauss *Talmudische Archäologie*.' G. McN. Rushforth: 'Cambridge Mediaeval History, I' (5½ pp. favourable). J. H. Round: 'Armitage *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*.' G. Unwin: 'Doren *Studien aus der Florentiner Wirtschaftsgeschichte, II*.' J. P. Whitney: 'Valois *La Crise Religieuse du XV^e siècle (1418-50)*'; 'Gairdner *Lollardy and the Reformation, III*.' J. Tait: 'Kingsford *The First English Life of Henry V*' (Translator of Titus Livius). P. S. Allen: 'De Jongh *L'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain (1432-1540)*.' A. W. Ward: 'Waddington *Histoire de Prusse, I*.' E. Armstrong: 'Jansen *Jakob Fugger der Reiche, I*' ('probably the most influential financier that ever lived'). W. H. Frere: 'Burrage *Early English Dissenters (1550-1641)*.' A. F. Pollard: 'Erskine May-Holland *Constitutional History of England to 1911*.' H. E. Egerton: 'G. O. Trevelyan *George III and Charles Fox*'; 'Dickerson *American Colonial Government (1696-1765)*.' L. G. Wickham Legg: 'Pisani *L'Eglise de Paris et la Révolution, IV*.' 'Notestein *Witchcraft in England, 1558-1718*.' 'Night-ingle *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*.' 'J. E. B. Mayor *Cambridge under Q. Anne*.' 'B. Ward *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation*.' C. C. J. W[ebb]: 'Armitage Robinson *The Abbot's House at Westminster*.'

The Economic Review (Vol. XXII. No. 3. July 1912. Rivingtons). J. G. Leigh: 'Amusements.' R. C. Davison: 'The Voluntary Social Worker and the State.' K. D. Cotes: 'Old-Time Solutions of the Fiscal Problem.' W. H. R. Curtler: 'The Landlords, the Labourers, and the Land.' A. J. Jenkinson: 'Reflections on a Pamphlet entitled "The Miners' Next Step."' Notes and Memoranda. J. L. Dougan: 'Legislation, Parliamentary Inquiries, and Official Returns.' C. E. M. Fry: 'Hobhouse *Social Evolution and Political Theory*'; 'Quinton *The Modern Prison Curriculum*.' L. Phillips: 'Morison *The Economic Transition in India*.' J. G. Leigh: 'S. G. Smith *Social Pathology*.' F. A. M. Spencer: 'Urwick *Philosophy of Social Progress*.'

The Contemporary Review (Nos. 559-61. July-September 1912. London: 14 Henrietta Street, W.C.) Sir W. Barrett: 'Swedenborg. The Savant and the Seer.' L. Collison-Morley: 'D'Annunzio as a National Poet.' Aronides: 'The Problem before Anglo-Jewry.' R. Christie: 'Catastrophes in Nature.' V. Palen-Kordes: 'Finland's Women Deputies and their Work.' 'Dictionary of National Biography, Second Supplement, I.' G. P. G[ooch]: 'Black and Chrystal *Life of W. Robertson Smith*.' 'Current Books on Theology and Religion.' August. A. L. Lilley: 'The Religion of the Frenchman.' W. G. Kingsland: 'Some Browning Memories.' H. W. Clark: 'The Ejection of 1662 in Relation to Nonconformity.' J. L. Paton: 'The Teacher's Register and its Possibilities.' A. Dorrington: 'A Colonist in the

Making.' C. Robinson: 'Schoolmasters in Ancient Greece.' 'J. G. Frazer *Letters of Cowper*.' 'Some Works on Philosophy.' 'Jenks *Short History of English Law*.' September. Sir R. Casement: 'The Putumayo Indians.' H. Burrows: 'Spontaneous Education. The Montessori Method.' S. A. Barnett: 'The Cathedrals and Modern Needs.' J. M. Robertson, M.P.: 'Bacon as Politician.' Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Sanctuary of Men at Antioch.' H. D. Rawnsley: 'Charles Dickens's Connexion with the Lake District.' A. J. Philip: 'A Reference Library for London.' A. Brown: 'Recent Eschatological Discussions.' Stephen Phillips: 'The Adversary. A Drama in One Act of Four Scenes.' J. E. G. de M[ontmorency]: 'The September Players.' '(The late) H. Williams *Christianity in Early Britain*.' G. P. G[ooch]: 'Clapham Abbé Sieyès'; 'J. H. Rose Pitt and Napoleon.' 'Posthumous Essays of J. Churton Collins.' 'Darlow and Moule *Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the Bible Society, II*.'

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